

T H E
HISTORY
O F
POLYBIUS,

T H E
MEGALOPOLITAN:
CONTAINING
A General Account
O F T H E
Transactions of the World,
A N D
Principally of the ROMAN PEOPLE,
During the First and Second *Punick* Wars.

Translated by Sir H. S.

*To which is added, A Character of Polybius
and his Writings. By Mr. Dryden.*

The First Volume.

The Second Edition.

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Polytechnic*

Vol.

Summary

MARE THYRRENUM

SICULUM

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MARE LIBYCUM

P.A.R.S.

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THE
CHARACTER
OF
POLYBIUS
AND HIS
WRITINGS

THE worthy Author of this Translation, who is very much my Friend, was pleas'd to intrust it in my Hands, for many Months together, before he publish'd it; desiring me to review the English, and to Correct what I found amiss; which he needed not have done, if his Modesty wou'd have given him leave, to have relied on his own Abilities; who is so great a Master of our Style and Language, as the World will acknowledge him to be, after the Reading of this Excellent Version. 'Tis true,
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that *Polybius* has formerly appear'd in an English Dress; but under such a Cloud of Errours, in his first Translation, that his native Beauty, was not only hidden, but his Sence perverted, in many places; so that he appear'd unlike himself, and unworthy of that Esteem, which has always been paid him by Antiquity, as the most Sincere, the Clearest, and most Instructive of all Historians. He is now not only redeem'd from those Mistakes, but also restor'd to the first purity of his Conceptions: And the Stile in which he now speaks is as plain and unaffected, as that he wrote. I had only the pleasure of Reading him, in a fair Manuscript, without the toil of Alteration: At least it was so very inconsiderable, that it only cost me the dash of a Pen in some few places, and those of very small importance; so much had the Care, the Diligence, and Exactness of my Friend prevented my Trouble, that he left me not the occasion of serving him in a Work which was already finish'd to my Hands: I doubt not but the Reader will approve my Judgment. So happy it is for a good Author, to fall into the hands of a Translator, who is of a Genius like his own; who has added Experience to his natural Abilities; who has been Educated in Business, of several kinds; has Travell'd, like his Author, into many Parts of the World, and some of them the same with the present Scene

Scene of History ; has been employed in Business of the like nature, with *Polybius* ; and like him is perfectly acquainted, not only with the Terms of the Mathematicks, but has search'd into the bottom of that admirable Science, and reduc'd into Practice the most useful Rules of it, to his own Honour, and the Benefit of his Native Country ; who, besides these Advantages, possesses the knowledge of Shipping and Navigation ; and, in few Words, is not ignorant of any thing that concerns the Tacticks : So that here, from the beginning, we are sure of finding nothing that is not thoroughly Understood. The Expression is clear, and the Words adequate to the Subject. Nothing in the Matter will be mistaken ; nothing of the Terms will be misapplied : All is natural, and proper ; and he who understands good Sense and English, will be profited by the first, and delighted with the latter. This is what may be justly said in Commendation of the Translator, and without the note of Flattery to a Friend.

As for his Author, I shall not be ashamed to Copy from the Learned *Casaubon*, (who has Translated him into Latine,) many things which I had not from my own small Reading, and which I cou'd not, without great difficulty, have drawn but from his Fountain, not omitting some, which came casually in my way, by reading the Preface of the Ab-

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bot *Pichon*, to the *Dauphin's Tacitus*, an admirable and most useful Work; which Helps, I ingeniously profess, to have receiv'd from them, both to clear my self from being a Plagiary of their Writings, and to give Authority by their Names, to the weakness of my own Performance.

The taking of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet* the Great, fell into the latter times of Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth; a Pope not only studious of good Letters, and particularly of History, but also a great Encourager of it in others. From the dreadful Overthrow of that City, and final Subversion of the *Greek* Empire, many Learned Men escap'd, and brought over with them into *Italy*, that Treasure of ancient Authors, which by their unhappiness we now possess. And amongst the rest, some of these remaining Fragments of *Polybius*. The Body of this History, as he left it finish'd, was consisting of Forty Books, of which the eighth Part is only remaining to us, entire. As for his Negotiations, when he was sent Ambassador, either from his own Country-men, the Commonwealth of the *Achaians*, or afterwards was employed by the *Romans*, on their Business with other Nations, we are obliged to *Constantine* the Great, for their Preservation; for that Emperour was so much in Love with the dexterous Management, and Wisdom of our Author, that he caus'd them all
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to be faithfully Transcrib'd, and made frequent Use of them in his own Dispatches and Affairs with Foreign Princes, as his best Guides in his Concernments with them. *Polybius*, as you will find in reading of him, though he principally intended the History of the *Romans*, and the Establishment of their Empire, over the greatest part of the World, which was then known; yet had in his Eye the general History of the Times in which he liv'd, not forgetting either the Wars of his own Country, with their Neighbours of *Etolia*, or the concurrent Affairs of *Macedonia*, and the Provinces of *Greece*, (which is properly so call'd;) nor the Monarchies of *Asia* and *Egypt*, nor the Republick of the *Carthaginians*, with the several Traverses of their Fortunes, either in relation to the *Romans*, or independent to the Wars, which they wag'd with them, besides what happen'd in *Spain* and *Sicily*, and other *European* Countries. The Time which is taken up in this History consists of Three and Fifty Years, and the greast part of it is employ'd in the description of those Events, of which the Author was an Eye-witness; or bore a considerable part in the Conduct of them. But in what particular Time or Age it was, when Mankind receiv'd that irrecoverable Loss of this Noble History, is not certainly deliver'd to us. It appears to have been perfect in the Reign of *Constantine*, by what I

have already noted; and neither *Casaubon*, nor any other, can give us any further Account concerning it. The first Attempt towards a Translation of him, was by Command of the same Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth, already mention'd, who esteem'd him the Prince of Greek Historians: Wou'd have him continually in his Hands; and us'd to make this Judgment of him; That, if he yielded to one or two, in the Praise of Eloquence, yet in Wisdom, and all other Accomplishments belonging to a perfect Historian, he was at least equal to any other Writer, *Greek* or *Roman*, and perhaps excell'd them all. This is the Author, who is now offer'd to us in our Mother Tongue, recommended by the Nobility of his Birth, by his Institution in Arts and Sciences, by his Knowledge in Natural and Moral Philosophy, and particularly the Politicks; by his being conversant both in the Arts of Peace and War; by his Education under his Father *Lycortas*, who voluntarily depos'd himself from his Sovereignty of *Megalopolis*, to become a principal Member of the *Achaian* Commonwealth, which then flourish'd under the management of *Aratus*, by his friendship with *Scipio Africanus*, who subdued *Carthage*, to whom he was both a Companion and a Consellour; and by the Good-will, Esteem, and Intimacy which he had with several Princes of *Asia*, *Greece* and *Egypt*, during his Life; and after his Decease,

crease, by deserving the Applause and Approbation of all succeeding Ages. This Author so long neglected in the barbarous times of Christianity, and so little known in *Europe*, (according to the Fate which commonly follows the best of Writers) was pull'd from under the Rubbish which cover'd him, by the Learned Bishop, *Nicholas* the Fifth. And some parts of his History, (for, with all his Diligence, he was not able to recover the whole) were by him recommended to a Person (knowing both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Tongues, and learn'd for the Times in which he liv'd) to be Translated into Latin: And, to the Honour of our *Polybius*, he was amongst the first of the *Greek* Writers, who deserv'd to have this Care bestow'd on him. Which notwithstanding, so many Hindrances occur'd in this Attempt, that the Work was not perfected in his Popedome, neither was any more than a third Part of what is now recover'd in his Hands; neither did that learn'd *Italian*, who had undertaken him, succeed very happily in that Endeavour; for the perfect Knowledge of the *Greek* Language was not yet restor'd; and that Translator was but as a one-ey'd Man, amongst the Nation of the Blind, only suffer'd, till a better could be found, to do right to an Author, whose Excellence requir'd a more just Interpreter, than the Ignorance of that Age

afforded. And this gives me occasion to admire, (says *Casaubon*,) that in following Times, when Eloquence was redeem'd, and the Knowledge of the Greek Language flourish'd, yet no Man thought of pursuing that Design, which was so worthily begun, in those first Rudiments of Learning. Some indeed, of almost every Nation in *Europe*, have been instrumental in the recovery of several lost Parts of our *Polybius*, and commented on them with good Success; but no Man before *Casaubon*, had review'd the first Translation, corrected its Errours, and put the last Hand to its Accomplishment. The World is therefore beholding to him for this great Work; for he has collected into one their scattered Fragments, has piec'd them together, according to the natural Order in which they were Written; made them intelligible to Scholars, and render'd the *French* Translator's Task more easie to his Hands. Our Author is particularly mention'd, with great Honour, by *Cicero*, *Strabo*, *Josephus*, and *Plutarch*; and in what rank of Writers they are plac'd, none of the Learned need to be inform'd. He is copied in whole Books together by *Livy*, commonly esteem'd the Prince of the Roman History, and Translated word for word: Tho' the Latin Historian is not to be excus'd, for not mentioning the Man to whom he had been so much oblig'd, nor for taking as his own the worthy

thy Labours of another. *Marcus Brutus*, who prefer'd the Freedom of his Country to the Obligations which he had to *Julius Caesar*, so priz'd *Polybius*, that he made a Compendium of his Works, and Read him not only for his Instruction, but for the Diversion of his Grief, when his noble Enterprize for the Restoration of the Commonwealth had not found the Success which it deserv'd. And this is not the least Commendation of our Author, that he, who was not wholly satisfied with the Eloquence of *Tully*, shou'd Epitomize *Polybius*, with his own Hand. It was on the Consideration of *Brutus*, and the Veneration which he paid him, that *Constantine* the Great took so great a pleasure in Reading our Author, and collecting the several Treaties of his Embassies; of which, tho' many are now lost, yet those which remain are a sufficient Testimony of his Abilities; and I congratulate my Country, that a Prince of our Extraction, (as was *Constantine*) has the honour of obliging the Christian World, by these Remainers of our great Historian. 'Tis now time to enter into the particular Praises of *Polybius*, which I have given you before, in gross; and the first of them, (following the Method of *Casaubon*,) is his wonderful Skill in Political Affairs. I had Read him in English, with the pleasure of a Boy, before I was ten Years of Age; and yet, even then, had some dark Notions of the

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Prudence with which he conducted his Design; particularly in making me known, and almost see the Places where such and such Actions were perform'd. This was the first distinction which I was then capable of making, betwixt him and other Historians, which I Read early. But when being of a riper Age, I took him again into my Hands; I must needs say, that I have profited more by reading him, than by *Thucydides*, *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, and all the rest of the Greek Historians together: And amongst all the *Romans*, none have reach'd him in this particular, but *Tacitus*, who is equal with him.

'Tis wonderful to consider, with how much care and application he Instructs, Counsels, Warns, Admonishes and Advises, whensoever he can find a fit occasion: He performs all these sometimes in the nature of a common Parent of Mankind; and sometimes also limits his Instructions to particular Nations, by a friendly Reproach of those Failings and Errors, to which they were most obnoxious. In this last manner, he gives Instructions to the *Mantineans*, the *Elleans*, and several other Provinces of *Greece*; by informing them of such things as were conducing to their Welfare, Thus he likewise warns the *Romans* of their Obstinacy and Wilfulness; Vices, which have often brought them to the brink of Ruine. And thus he frequently exhorts the *Greeks* in general, not to depart from their

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Dependence on the *Romans*; nor to take false Measures by embroiling themselves in Wars with that Victorious People, in whose Fate it was to be Masters of the Universe. But as his peculiar Concernment was for the Safety of his own Country-men, the *Achaians*, he more than once insinuates to them, the care of their Preservation, which consisted in submitting to the Yoke of the *Roman* People, which they could not possibly avoid; and to make it Easie to them, by a chearful compliance with their Commands, rather than unprofitably to Oppose them, with the hazard of those remaining Priviledges, which the Clemency of the Conquerours had left them. For this reason, in the whole Course of his History, he makes it his chiefest business to perswade the *Grecians* in general, that the growing Greatness and Fortune of the *Roman* Empire was not owing to meer Chance, but to the Conduct and invincible Courage of that People; to whom their own Virtue gave the Dominion of the World. And yet this Councillor of Patience and Submission, as long as there was any probability of hope remaining, to withstand the progress of the *Roman* Fortune; was not wanting to the utmost of his power to resist them, at least to deferr the Bondage of his Country, which he had long foreseen: But the Fates inevitably drawing all things into subjection to *Rome*, this well-deserving Citizen was commanded

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manded to appear in that City, where he suffer'd the Imprisonment of many Years : Yet even then his Virtue was beneficial to him ; the knowledge of his Learning and his Wisdom, procuring him the friendship of the most Potent in the Senate ; so that it may be said, with *Casaubon*, that the same Virtue which had brought him into distress, was the very means of his relief, and of his exaltation to greater Dignities than those which he lost : For by the intercession of *Cato* the Censor, *Scipio Emilianus*, who afterwards destroy'd *Carthage*, and some other principal Noblemen, our *Polybius* was restor'd to Liberty. After which, having set it down as a Maxim, that the Welfare of the *Achaians* consisted, as I have said, in breaking their own stubborn Inclinations, and yielding up that Freedom which they no longer could maintain, he made it the utmost aim of his Endeavours, to bring over his Countrymen to that Perswasion : in which, though to their Misfortunes, his Counsels were not prevalent, yet thereby he not only prov'd himself a good Patriot, but also made his Fortunes with the *Romans*. For his Countrymen, by their own unpardonable Fault, not long afterwards, drew on themselves their own Destruction : For when *Mummius*, in the *Achaian* War, made a final Conquest of that Country ; he dissolv'd the great Council of their Commonwealth. But in the
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mean time, *Polybius* enjoy'd that tranquillity of Fortune, which he had purchas'd by his Wisdom. In that private State, being particularly dear to *Scipio* and *Lelius*, and some of the rest who were then in the Administration of the Roman Government : And that Favour which he had gain'd amongst them, he employed not in heaping Riches to himself ; but as a means of performing many considerable Actions ; as particularly, when *Scipio* was sent to demolish *Carthage*, he went along with him, in the nature of a Counsellor, and Companion of his Enterprize. At which time, receiving the Command of a Fleet from him, he made Discoveries in many parts of the Atlantick Ocean ; and especially on the Shores of *Africa* : And doing many good Offices to all sorts of People, whom he had power to Oblige, especially to the Grecians, who in Honour of their Benefactor, caus'd many Statues of him to be erected ; as *Pausanias* has Written. The particular Gratitude of the *Locrians* in *Italy*, is also an undeniable Witness of this Truth ; who, by his Mediation being discharg'd from the burden of Taxes, which oppress'd them, through the hardship of those Conditions which the *Romans* had impos'd on them in the Treaty of Peace ; profess'd themselves to be owing for their Lives and Fortunes, to the only Interest and good Nature of *Polybius* ; which they took care to Express, by all manner of

Acknowledgment. Yet as beneficent as he was, the greatest obligation which he could lay on Humane-kind, was the Writing of this present History : Wherein he has left a perpetual Monument of his publick Love to all the World, in every succeeding Age of it, by giving us such Precepts as are most conducing to our common Safety, and our Benefit. This *Philanthropy* (which we have not a proper Word in English to express) is every where manifest in our Author. And from hence proceeded that divine Rule which he gave to *Scipio*, that whensoever he went abroad, he should take care not to return to his own House, before he had acquir'd a Friend, by some new Obligation. To this Excellency of Nature we owe the Treasure which is contain'd in this most useful Work : This is the Standard by which all good and prudent Princes ought to regulate their Actions : None have more need of Friends than Monarchs. And though Ingratitude is too frequent, in the most of those who are Oblig'd; yet Incouragement will work on generous Minds; and if the Experiment be lost on Thousands, yet it never fails on All. And one vertuous Man in a whole Nation is worth the buying; as one Diamond is worth the search in a heap of Rubbish. But a narrow-hearted Prince, who thinks that Mankind is made for him alone, puts his Subjects in a way of deserting him on the first Occasion; and

and teaches them to be as sparing of their Duty, as he is of his Bounty. He is sure of making Enemies, who will not be at the cost of rewarding his Friends and Servants. And by letting his People see he loves them not, instructs them to live upon the square with him, and to make him sensible in his turn, that Prerogatives are given; but Priviledges are inherent. As for Tricking, Cunning, and that which in Sovereigns they call King-craft, and Reason of State in Commonwealths : To them and their Proceedings *Polybins* is an open Enemy. He severely repoves all faithless Practices, and that κακοπεγυμωσιν, or vicious Policy, which is too frequent in the management of the Publick. He commends nothing but Plainness, Sincerity, and the Common-good, undisguis'd, and set in a true Light, before the People: Not but that there may be a Necessity of saving a Nation, by going beyond the Letter of the Law, or even sometimes by superseding it; but then that Necessity must not be Artificial, it must be Visible, it must be strong enough to make the Remedy not only pardon'd, but desir'd, to the major part of the People: Not for the Interest only of some few Men, but for the Publick-safety, for otherwise, one Infringement of a Law, draws after it the practice of subverting all the Liberties of a Nation, which are only intrusted with any Government; but can never be given up to it. The best way

way to distinguish betwixt a pretended Necessity and a true, is to observe if the Remedy be rarely apply'd, or frequently. In times of Peace, or times of War and publick Distractions, which are the most usual Causes of suddain Necessities. From hence *Cassanbon* infers, That this our Author, who preaches Vertue, and Probity, and Plain-dealing, ought to be studiéd principally by Kings and Ministers of State: And that Youth, which are bred up to succeed in the management of Business, should read him carefully, and imbibe him thoroughly, detesting the Maxims that are given by *Machiavel* and others, which are only the Instruments of Tyranny. Further-more, (continues he) the study of Truth is perpetually joyn'd with the love of Virtue: For there is no Virtue which derives not its original from Truth: As on the contrary, there is no Vice which has not its beginning from a Lye. Truth is the foundation of all Knowledge, and the cement of all Societies. And this is one of the most shining Qualities in our Author. I was so strongly perswaded of this myself, in the perusal of the present History, that I confess, amongst all the Ancients, I never found any who had the Air of it so much; and amongst the Moderns, none but *Philip de Commynes*. They had this common to them, that they both chang'd their Masters: But *Polybius* chang'd not his side, as *Philip* did: He was not bought

bought off to another Party ; but pursu'd the true Interest of his Country, even when he serv'd the *Romans*. Yet since Truth, (as one of the Philosophers has told me) lies in the bottom of a Well ; so 'tis hard to draw it up : much Pains, much Diligence, much Judgment is necessary to hand it to us, even Cost is oftentimes requir'd ; and *Polybius* was wanting in none of these. We find but few Historians of all Ages, who have been diligent enough in their search for Truth : 'tis their common method to take on trust what they distribute to the Publick ; by which means a Falshood once receiv'd from a fam'd Writer, becomes traditional to Posterity. But *Polybius* weigh'd the Authors from whom he was forc'd to borrow the History of the Times immediately preceding his ; and oftentimes corrected them, either by comparing them each with other, or by the Lights which he had receiv'd from ancient Men of known Integrity amongst the *Romans*, who had been conversant in those Affairs, which were then manag'd, and were yet living to Instruct him. He also learn'd the *Roman* Tongue, and attain'd to that knowledge of their Laws, their Rights, their Customs and Antiquities, that few of their own Citizens understood them better ; having gain'd permission from the Senate, to search the Capitol, he made himself familiar with their Records, and afterwards translated them into his Mother-tongue. So that he

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taught the Noblemen of Rome their own Municipal Laws, and was accounted more skilful in them than *Fabius Pictor*, a Man of the Senatorian Order, who wrote the Transactions of the *Punick* Wars. He who neglected none of the Laws of History, was so careful of Truth, (which is the principal,) that he made it his whole Business to deliver nothing to Posterity, which might deceive them; and by that Diligence and Exactness may easily be known to be studious of Truth, and a lover of it. What therefore *Brutus* thought worthy to Transcribe with his own Hand out of him, I need not be asham'd to Copy after him. *I believe, says Polybius, That Nature herself has constituted Truth as the supreme Deity, which is to be ador'd by Mankind; and that she has given it greater Force than any of the rest: For being oppos'd, as she is on all sides, and appearances of Truth so often passing for the thing itself, in behalf of plausible Falshoods; yet, by her wonderful Operation, she insinuates herself into the Minds of Men; sometimes exerting her Strength immediately, and sometimes lying hid in Darkness for length of time; but at last she struggles through it, and appears Triumphant over Falshood.* This sincerity *Polybins* preferr'd to all his Friends, and even to his Father; In all other Offices of Life, says he, *I praise a lover of his Friends, and of his Native Country; but in writing History, I am oblig'd to divest myself of all other*

ther Obligations, and sacrifice them all to Truth. *Aratus*, the *Sicyonian*, in the Childhood of our Author, was chief of the *Achaian* Commonwealth; a Man in principal Esteem, both in his own Country, and all the Provinces of *Greece*; admir'd universally for his Probity, his Wisdom, his just Administration, and his Conduct: In remembrance of all which his grateful Country-men, after his Decease, ordain'd him those Honours which are only due to Heroes. Him our *Polybius* had in Veneration, and form'd himself by imitation of his Vertues; and is never wanting in his Commendations through the course of his History. Yet, even this Man, when the cause of Truth requir'd it, is many times reprov'd by him, for his slowness in Counsel, his tardiness in the beginning of his Enterprises, his tedious, and more than Spanish Deliberations; and his heavy and cowardly Proceedings are as freely blam'd by our *Polybius*, as they were afterwards by *Plutarch*, who questionless drew his Character from this History. In plain Terms, that wise General scarce ever perform'd any great Action but by Night. The glittering of a Sword before his Face was offensive to his Eyes: Our Author therefore boldly accuses him of his Faint-heartedness; attributes the Defeat at *Caphia* wholly to him, and is not sparing to affirm, That all *Peloponnesus* was fill'd with Trophies, which were set up, as the Monuments

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of his Losses. He sometimes Praises, and at other times Condemns the Proceedings of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, the Son of *Demetrius*, according to the Occasions which he gave him, by the variety and inequality of his Conduct; and this most exquisite on either side.

He more than once Arraigns him for the inconstancy of his Judgment: And chapters even his own *Aratus*, on the same Head; shewing by many Examples, produc'd from their Actions, how many Miseries they had both occasion'd to the *Grecians*. And attributing it to the weakness of humane Nature, which can make nothing perfect. But some Men are brave in Battel, who are weak in Counsel, which daily Experience sets before our Eyes, others deliberate wisely, but are weak in the performing part; and even no Man is the same to Day which he was Yesterday, or may be to Morrow. On this account, says our Author, *a good Man is sometimes liable to Blame, and a bad Man, though not often, may possibly deserve to be Commended.* And for this very reason he severely taxes *Timaeus*, a malicious Historian, who will allow no kind of Vertue to *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Sicily*; but detracts from all his Actions, even the most Glorious, because in general he was a vicious Man. *Is it to be thought, says Casaubon, that Polybius loved the Memory of Agathocles the Tyrant, or hated that of the Vertuous Aratus?* But 'tis one thing
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to commend a Tyrant, and another thing to overpass in silence, those laudable Actions which are perform'd by him : Because it argues an Author of the same Falshood, to pretermitt, what has actually been done, as to feign those Actions which have never been. It will not be unprofitable in this place, to give another famous Instance of the Candour and Integrity of our Historian. There had been an ancient League betwixt the Republick of *Achaia* and the Kings of *Egypt*, which was entertain'd by both Parties, sometimes on the same Conditions, and sometimes also the Confederacy was renew'd on other Terms. It happen'd in the 148th Olympiad, that *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, on this Occasion, sent one *Demetrius* his Ambassadour to the Common-wealth of *Achaia*. That Republick was then ruinously divided into two Factions ; whereof the Heads on one side, were *Philopamen*, and *Lycortas* the Father of our Author ; of the adverse Party, the Chief was *Aristanus*, with some other principal *Achaians*. The Faction of *Philopamen* was prevalent in the Council, for renewing the Confederacy with the King of *Egypt* : In order to which, *Lycortas* receiv'd a Commission to go to that Court, and treat the Articles of Alliance. Accordingly he goes, and afterwards returns, and gives Account to his Superiors, that the Treaty was concluded. *Aristanus*, hearing nothing but a bare Relati-

on of a League that was made, without any thing belonging to the Conditions of it, and well knowing that several forms of those Alliances had been us'd in the former Negotiations, ask'd *Lycortas* in the Concil, according to which of them this present Confederacy was made? To this Question of his Enemy, *Lycortas* had not a word to answer. For it had so happen'd by the wonderful neglect of *Philopamen* and his own, and also that of *Proton*'s Counsellors; or, as I rather believe, by their Craft contriv'd, that the whole Transaction had been loosely and confusedly manag'd, which, in a Matter of so great importance, redounded to the Scandal and Ignominy of *Philopamen* and *Lycortas*, in the Face of that grave Assembly. Now these Proceedings our Author so relates, as if he had been speaking of Persons to whom he had no manner of relation, tho' one of them was his own Father, and the other always esteem'd by him in the place of a better Father. But being mindful of the Law which himself had instituted, concerning the indispensable Duty of an Historian, (which is Truth) he chose rather to be thought a lover of it, than of either of his Parents. 'Tis true, *Lycortas* in all probability was dead, when *Polybius* wrote this History; but had he been then living, we may safely think that his Son wou'd have assum'd the same Liberty, and not fear'd to have offended him in behalf of Truth.

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Another part of this Veracity is also deserving the notice of the Reader, tho', at the same time, we must conclude, that it was also an effect of a sound Judgment; that he perpetually explodes the Legends of Prodigies and Miracles, and instead of them, most accurately searches into the natural Causes, of those Actions which he describes; for, from the first of these, the latter follows of direct consequence. And for this reason he professes an immortal Enmity to those Tricks and Jugglings, which the Common-people believe as real Miracles, because they are ignorant of the Causes which produc'd them. But he had made a diligent Search into them, and found out that they preceeded either from the fond Credulity of the People, or were impos'd on them by the Craft of those whose Interest it was that they should be believ'd. You hear not in *Polybius*, that it Rain'd Blood, or Stones; that a Bull had Spoken, or a thousand such Impossibilities, with which *Livy* perpetually crowds the Calends of almost every Consulship. His New Years could no more begin without them, during his Description of the *Punick* Wars, than our Prognosticating Almanacks without the Effects of the present Oppositions betwixt *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, the foretelling of Comets and Conjunctions in the Air, which seldom happen at the times assign'd by our Astrologers, and almost always fail in their Events. If you

will give Credit to some other Authors, some God was always present with *Hannibal*, or *Scipio*, to direct their Actions: That a visible Deity wrought Journey-work under *Hannibal*, to conduct him through the difficult Passages of the Alps; and another did the same Office of Drudgery for *Scipio*, when he Besieg'd New *Carthage*, by draining the Waters, which otherwise wou'd have drown'd his Army, in their rash Approaches. Which *Polybius* observing, says wittily and truly, That the Authors of such fabulous kind of Stuff, write Tragedies, not Histories. For, as the Poets, when they are at a loss for the Solution of a Plot, bungle up their Catastrophe, with a God descending in a Machine: So these inconsiderate Historians, when they have brought their Heroes into a Plunge, by some rash and headlong Undertaking, having no Humane way remaining to disengage them with their Honour, are forc'd to have recourse to Miracle; and introduce a God for their Deliverance. 'Tis a common Frenzy of the ignorant Multitude, says *Casaubon*, to be always ingaging Heaven on their side; and indeed it is a successful Stratagem of any General, to gain Authority among his Souldiers, if he can perswade them, that he is the Man by Fate appointed for such, or such an Action, though most impracticable. To be favour'd of God, and command, (if it may be permitted so to say,) the extraordinary con-

Concourse of Providence, sets off a Heroe, and makes more specious the Cause for which he Fights, without any consideration of Morality, which ought to be the beginning and end of all our Actions. For where that is violated, God is only present in permission; and suffers a Wrong to be done, but not Commands it. Light Historians, and such as are Superstitious in their Natures, by the artifice of feign'd Miracles, captivate the gross Understandings of their Readers, and please their Fancies by Relations of things which are rather Wonderful than True: But such as are of a more profound and solid Judgment, (which is the Character of our *Polybius*,) have recourse only to their own natural Lights, and by them pursue the Methods at least of Probability, if they cannot arrive to a settled Certainty. He was satisfi'd that *Hannibal* was not the first, who had made a Passage through the Alps, but that the *Gauls* had been before him in their Descent on *Italy*; and also knew, that this most prudent General, when he laid his Design of Invading that Country, had made an Alliance with the *Gauls*, and prepossess'd them in his Favour, and before he stirr'd a foot from *Spain*, had provided against all those Difficulties which he foresaw in his Attempt, and compass'd his Undertaking, which indeed was void of Miracles, but full of Conduct, and Military Experience. In the same manner *Scipio*, before
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he departed from *Rome*, to take his Voyage into *Spain*, had carefully consider'd every particular Circumstance which might cross his Purpose, and made his Enterprize as easie to him as humane Prudence could provide; so that he was Victorious over that Nation, not by vertue of any Miracle, but by his admirable Forecast, and wise Conduct in the execution of his Design. Of which, tho' *Polybius* was not an Eye-witness, he yet had it from the best Testimony, which was that of *Lelias*, the Friend of *Scipio*, who accompanied him in that Expedition, of whom our Author with great Diligence enquir'd concerning every thing of Moment, which happen'd in that War, and with whom he commends for his sincerity in that Relation. Whensoever he gives us the Account of any considerable Action, he never fails to tell us why it succeeded, or for what reason it miscarried; together with all the antecedent Causes of its Undertaking, and the manner of its performance; all which he accurately Explains. Of which I will select but some few Instances, because I want Leisure to expatiate on many. In the Fragments of the 17th Book he makes a learned Dissertation concerning the *Macedonian* Phalanx, or gross Body of Foot, which was formerly believ'd to be Invincible, till Experience taught the contrary, by the success of the Battle, which *Philip* lost to the Commonwealth of *Rome*; and the manifest
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and most certain Causes are therein related, which prove it to be inferior to the *Roman* Legions. When also he had told us in his former Books, of the three great Battles, wherein *Hannibal* had Overthrown the *Romans*, and the last at *Canna*, wherein he had in a manner Conquer'd that Republick, he gives the Reasons of every Defeat, either from the Choice of Ground, or the Strength of the Foreign Horse in *Hannibal's* Army, or the ill-timing of the Fight on the vanquish'd side. After this, when he describes the turn of Fortune on the Part of the *Romans*, you are visibly conducted upwards to the Causes of that Change; and the reasonableness of the Method which was afterward pursu'd by that Commonwealth, which rais'd it to the Empire of the World. In these and many other Examples, which for brevity are omitted, there is nothing more plain, than that *Polybius* denies all Power to Fortune, and places the Sum of Success in Providence. Συμβαντων τῶν ἀντιπαρῶν, φαῦλον, indeed are his Words. 'Tis a Madness to make Fortune the Mistress of Events, because in herself she is nothing, can Rule nothing, but is rul'd by Prudence. So that whenever our Author seems to attribute any thing to Chance, he speaks only with the Vulgar, and desires so to be understood: But here I must make bold to part Company with *Casaubon* for a Moment. He is a vehement

hement Friend to any Author with whom he has taken any Pains; and his Partiality to *Persius*, in opposition to *Juvenal*, is too fresh in my Memory to be forgotten. Because *Polybius* will allow nothing to the Power of Chance, he takes an occasion to infer, that he believ'd a Providence, sharply inveighing against those who have accus'd him of Atheism. He makes *Suidas* his Second in this Quarrel, and produces his single Evidence, and that but a bare Assertion neither without Proof, that *Polybius* believ'd, with us Christians, God administer'd all humane Actions and Affairs. But our Author will not be defended in this case, his whole History reclaims to that Opinion. When he speaks of Providence, or of any Divine Admonition, he is as much in jest, as when he speaks of Fortune; 'tis all to the Capacity of the Vulgar. Prudence was the only Divinity which he Worshipp'd; and the possession of Vertue the only End which he Propos'd. If I would have disguis'd this to the Reader, it was not in my Power. The Passages which manifestly prove his Irreligion, are so obvious, that I need not quote them. Neither do I know any reason, why *Cassanbon* shou'd enlarge so much in his Justification, since to believe false Gods, and to believe none, are Errors of the same Importance. He who knew not our God, saw through the ridiculous Opinions of the Heathens concern-
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ing theirs; and not being able without Revelation, to go farther, stopp'd at home in his own Breast, and made Prudence his Goddess, Truth his Search, and Vertue his Reward. If *Casaubon*, like him, had follow'd Truth, he would have sav'd me the Ungrateful Pains of contradicting him: But even the Reputation of *Polybius*, if there were occasion, is to be sacrific'd to Truth, according to his own Maxim. As for the Wisdom of our Author, whereby he wonderfully foresaw the Decay of the *Roman Empire*, and those Civil Wars which turn'd it down from a Commonwealth, to an absolute Monarchy: He who will take the Pains to review this History will easily perceive, that *Polybius* was of the best sort of Prophets, who predict from Natural Causes those Events, which must naturally proceed from them.

And these things were not to succeed even in the compass of the next Century to that wherein he liv'd. But the Person was then living, who was the first mover towards them; and that was that great *Scipio Africanus*, who by cajolling the People, to break the Fundamental Constitutions of the Government, in his Favour, by bringing him too early to the Consulship, and afterwards by making their Discipline of War precarious, First taught them to devolve the Power and Authority of the Senate, into the hands of one, and then to make that one to be at
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the Disposition of the Souldiery; which though he practis'd at a time, when it was necessary for the safety of the Commonwealth, yet it drew after it those fatal Consequences, which not only ruin'd the Republick, but also, in process of time, the Monarchy it self. But the Author was too much in the Interests of that Family, to Name *Scipio*; and therefore he gives other Reasons, to which I refer the Reader, that I may avoid prolixity. By what degrees *Polybius* arriv'd to this height of Knowledge, and consummate Judgment in Affairs, it will not be hard to make the Reader comprehend; for presupposing in him, all that Birth or Nature could give a Man, who was form'd for the Management of great Affairs, and capable of Recording them; he was likewise enter'd from his Youth into those Employments which add Experience to Natural Endowments. Being joyn'd in Commission with his Father *Lycortas*, and the Younger *Aratus*, before the Age of Twenty, in an Embassy to *Egypt*. After which he was perpetually in the Business of his own Commonwealth, or that of *Rome*. So that it seems to be one Part of the *Roman* Felicity, that he was Born in an Age, when their Commonwealth was growing to the height, that he might be the Historian of those great Actions, which were perform'd not only in his Life-time, but the chief of them even in his Sight.

Sight. I must confess that the Preparations to his History, (or the *Prolegomena*, as they are call'd) are very large, and the Digressions in it, are exceeding frequent. But as to his Preparatives, they were but necessary, to make the Reader comprehend the Drift and Design of his Undertaking. And the Digressions are also so Instructive, that we may truly say, They Transcend the Profit which we receive from the Matter of Fact. Upon the whole we may conclude him to be a great Talker; but we must grant him to be a Prudent Man. We can spare nothing of all he says, 'tis so much to our Improvement: and if the rest of his History had remain'd to us, in all probability it wou'd have been more close; for we can scarce conceive what was left in nature for him to add, he has so emptied almost all the Common-places of Digressions already; or if he could have added any thing, those Observations might have been as Useful, and as Necessary, as the rest which he has given us, and that are descended to our Hands. I will say nothing farther of the *Excerpta*, which (as *Casaubon* thinks) are part of that Epitome, which was begun to be made by *Marcus Brutus*, but never finish'd; nor of those Embassies which are collected and compil'd by the command of *Constantine* the Great: Because neither of them are translated in this Work. And whether or no
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The Character of Polybius,

they will be added in another Impression, I am not certain. The Translator of these Five Books having carried his Work no farther, than it was Perfect. He, I suppose, will acquaint you with his own Purpose in the Preface, which I hear he intends to prefix before *Polybius*.

Let us now hear *Polybius* himself describing an accomplished Historian, wherein we shall see his own Picture, as in a Glass, reflected to him, and given us afterwards to behold, in the Writing of this History.

Plato said of old, That it would be happy for Mankind, if either Philosophers administered the Government, or that Governours applied themselves to the study of Philosophy. I may also say, That it would be happy for History, if those who undertake, to Write it, were Men conversant in Political Affairs, who applied themselves seriously to their Undertaking; not negligently, but as such, who were fully perswaded, that they undertook a Work of the greatest Moment, of the greatest Excellency, and the most necessary for Mankind: Establishing this, as the Foundation whereon they are to Build, that they can never be capable of performing their Duty, as they ought, unless they have form'd themselves before-hand to their Undertaking, by Prudence, and long Experience of Affairs; without which Endowments and Advantages, if they attempt to
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Write a History, they will fall into a various and endless Labyrinth of Errors.

When we hear this Author Speaking, we are ready to think our selves engag'd in a Conversation with *Cato*, the Cenſor, with *Lelius*, with *Maſſiniſſa*, and with the two *Scipio*'s, that is, with the greateſt Heroes, and moſt prudent Men of the greateſt Age, in the *Roman* Common-wealth. This ſets me ſo on Fire, when I am Reading either here, or in any ancient Author, their Lives and Actions that I cannot hold from breaking out with *Montaign*, into this Expreſſion: 'Tis juſt, ſays he, for every honeſt Man to be Content with the Government, and Laws of his Native Country, without endeavouring to alter or ſubvert them: But if I were to chooſe where I would have been Born, it ſhou'd have been in a Commonwealth. He indeed names *Venice*; which, for many Reaſons, ſhou'd not be my Wiſh: But, rather *Rome* in ſuch an Age, if it were poſſible, as that wherein *Polybius* liv'd; or that of *Sparta*, whoſe Conſtitution for a Republick, is by our Author, compar'd with *Rome*; to which he juſtly gives the Preference.

I will not undertake to compare *Polybius* and *Tacitus*; tho', if I ſhou'd attempt it, upon the whole Merits of the Cauſe, I muſt allow to *Polybius* the greater Comprehension, and the larger Soul; to *Tacitus* the greater

Eloquence, and the more close Connection of his Thoughts. The Manner of *Tacitus* in Writing, is more like the Force and Gravity of *Demosthenes*; that of *Polybius* more like the Copiousness, and diffusive Character of *Cicero*. Amongst Historians, *Tacitus* imitated *Thucydides*, and *Polybius*, *Herodotus*. *Polybius* foresaw the Ruin of the Roman Commonwealth, by Luxury, Lust, and Cruelty; *Tacitus* foresaw in the Causes, those Events which shou'd Destroy the Monarchy. They are both of them, without dispute, the best Historians in their several kinds. In this they are alike, that both of them suffer'd under the Iniquity of the Times in which they liv'd: both their Histories are dismember'd, the greatest part of them lost, and they are interpolated in many places. Had their Works been perfect, we might have had longer Histories, but not better. *Casaubon*, according to his usual Partiality, condemns *Tacitus*, that he may raise *Polybius*, who needs not any sinister Artifice, to make him appear equal to the best. *Tacitus* describ'd the Times of Tyranny; but he always Writes with some kind of Indignation against them. 'Tis not his fault, that *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, were bad Princes. He is accus'd of Malevolence, and of taking Actions in the worst Sence; but we are still to remember, that those were the Actions of Tyrants. Had the rest of
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his History remain'd to us, we had certainly found a better Account of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*, who were vertuous Emperors; and he wou'd have given the Principles of their Actions a contrary turn. But it is not my Business to defend *Tacitus*; neither dare I decide the Preference betwixt him and our *Polybius*. They are equally profitable, and instructive to the Reader; but *Tacitus* more useful to those who are Born under a Monarchy; *Polybius*, to those who live in a Republick. What may farther be added concerning the History of this Author, I leave to be perform'd, by the Elegant Translator of his Work.

John Dryden.

T H E
P R E F A C E
O F T H E
T R A N S L A T O R.

M^T Attempt to render this Excellent Author into English, puts me under a necessity of making my Excuse to the World for ingageing in so nice and difficult a Work ; And I frankly, first, confess, That I had no Warrant from my Depth of Learning, whereof to make Ostentation, and wherein indeed, he who most abounds, ever finds least cause of boasting. This I own to prevent the Criticks, who, for the most part, while they amuse and busie themselves about the Interpretation of Words, shew but little Insight in the Matter whereof their Authors treat ; which is the solid and useful part of Knowledge. Nor was it a Desire to be seen in Print, it being never my Purpose to appear in Publick. For who of but tolerable Sence would take pleasure to be found among a Crowd of Fools, who in these our Days so much pester the Press ? My Motive then, in a word, was principally to comply with the Injun-

ctions of a Great Man, and a Friend, whose Commands to me while he liv'd were Sacred, as his Memory must be now he is remov'd from among us. To this Gentleman interpreting now and then some Select Passages out of Polybius, to entertain his Retirement; he grew so far in love with our Author, and so charm'd with the Force and Perfection of the Roman Discipline, that no Excuse I could make of my Insufficiency avaiPd, but I must render him into English. This Command, I say, which could not be decently excus'd, begat the Attempt, which, by new Importunity, is permitted to visit the World; when he, for whose sake it was done, has left it, to enjoy that Repose in a better, which his Enemies (jealous of his Vertue) maliciously refus'd him. And he who would have gloried to Die in the Service of his Country, who was the best Friend and every way one of the best Men of the Age, had the mortification to be a Sacrifice to Slander, and the restless Persecution of those who thought, and perhaps justly, that they could not shine till he shou'd be extinguish'd. My diffidence then, to do right to my Author, being vanquish'd by the Importunity of my Friend, I took assurance to think, that my Defects on the one hand might in some degree be supply'd by the long Acquaintance and Conversation I have had in those Matters which are principally treated by Polybius: who himself and most others of that sort, who have been interpreted to us by meer Scholars and Book-learned Men, have been so mis-

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misus'd, that it may be said, They are rather Traduc'd than Translated: And I dare appeal to the discernment of the knowing World, Whether the great Genius of one of the most extraordinary Men of the last Age, Mr. Hobbs, appears like himself in his Translation of Thucydides: And if he, who when he writes his own Thoughts and Matter, is so admirable both for Purity of Language, and Strength of Reason, does not there, for the most part, disappoint the Expectation of the Reader? 'Tis no wonder then if Undertakers of so much a lower Form, as most are who ingage in these Works, so seldom succeed, notwithstanding their Knowledge in Letters and Skill in Tongues, when in their own Mother-language, I will be bold to affirm, they will be often found at a loss to conceive rightly of the Sence of many Passages in History, where Military, Naval or the like Occurrences are handled. So necessary it will be found to be a Man of the World; of Business, Science, and Conversation, who wou'd ingage with any prospect of doing well in such Enterprizes. How it may happen to me in this Essay, is left to the Candor of the knowing Reader: And if it shall appear I have play'd the Fool, it chances to be in so very good Company, that I shall be content with my share of Shame. It is an Imployment wherein he who performs best, Trafficks for small Gain, and it would be unfair and unconscionable to make the Loss more than the Adventure; and, at the worst, it having been rather a Di-

version than a Task, helping me to while away a few long Winter Hours, which is some Recreation to one who has led a Life of Action and Business, and whose Humour and Fortune suit not with the Pleasures of the Town. Wherefore I shall have little cause of complaint, if my well-meaning in consenting to its Publication be not so well receiv'd: I have been worse treated by the World, to which I am as little indebted as most Men, who have spent near Thirty Years in Publick Trusts; wherein I labour'd and wasted my Youth and the Vigor of my Days, more to the Service of my Country and the Impairment of my Health than the Improvement of my Fortune, having stood the Mark of Envy, Slander, and hard Usage, without gleaning the least of those Advantages which use to be the Anchorhold and Refuge of such as whether wrongfully or otherwise suffer the Strokes of Censure.

I was saying how difficult I thought it was to Translate a good Author well: there is no way more beaten and travell'd, yet none more hard to find; Xenophon and Thucydides have the Voice of the Learn'd, in favour of their Eloquence, and other Advantages of Style and Manner in their Writings: But where, I say, do these Excellencies shine in their Interpreters, who I take for granted wanted not competent Furniture of Knowledge in the Greek Tongue? For my self, I can own, without scruple, that I am not touch'd nor edify'd by what I there read; their Charms are not by their Spokesmen convey'd

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vey'd to my Understanding. Let us, for trial, consult an Example out of Thucydides, and make choice of Pericles's Funeral Oration, so much applauded by Learned Men; what I pray does it speak in English? The Substance and Materials I confess are seen, but the Composition, the Style and Structure, are slight and Gothick: And, for my own particular, I can ingenuously say, that I have no Bowels, no Tears for those poor Men; I neither hear their Groans, nor see their Merits, as they are render'd in our Language. And this will always happen to Translators, who are but plain meer Scholars, and even to others who with over anctious scrupulosity walk so timorously in the Track of their Authors, that they cannot hold pace with them; and think they do enough, if they but keep them in view; tho' at never so great a distance. For 'tis not Transcribing his Words, but Transfusing his Mind, that does an Author justice; if the Spirit and the Genius do not in some degree every where appear, we do but stammer out his Meaning, and so draw his Picture, that but for the Title; no body could know it. Yet I am in no doubt, that Mr. Hobbs cou'd have abundantly shown and displayed all the Beauties, and justly express'd the Energy of the Style, and the Graces and Perfections of that Oration; and given us another kind of Version of Thucydides, had not his fear of falling into the Hands of merciless Criticks withheld him. But while I study to conceive aright, and explain my Sence of the
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Duty of a Translator, I am at the same moment deeply conscious of my own weak Performance; so much easier it is to think justly, than to do well; and under this Self-sentence I trust I may find some shelter against Censure. I know, that to have done Polybius exact justice, I ought to have study'd him longer; I shou'd have been better acquainted with his Life and Manners, and as familiar with him, if possible, as his Friends Scipio and Lelius; for so I might in many places, obscure in words, have penetrated his Meaning by my knowledge of the Man: But what shall I say? I have dealt him the fairest measure I was able, I have made him speak the best English I cou'd, without hurting his Sense, while I have neither fetter'd my self to his Words, nor been ty'd so much as to his Expression: But when I thought I knew his Mind, I utter'd it in the best manner I cou'd. Thus I have proceeded in the Narrative-part, and his Accounts of Matter of Fact; but where he Moralizes, Instructs and Acts the Orator, which are the most difficult to be handl'd, I have there dealt more tenderly and shewn the best care I was able to approach his manner. Polybius was, without all question, a very great Man, he was Noble, and of the first Rank of his Country, a Souldier, a States-man and a Philosopher, and withal of an excellent Understanding; Polish'd and Cultivated by Business and eminent Trusts, and Temper'd and Balasted by his own and his Country's Afflictions. So that it may be said,

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No Man ever engag'd in a Work of this sort better furnish'd with Requisites ; and he seems to fill the Chair, when he treats distinctly on any of the above-nam'd Subjects : But when he talks of War, which is the Favourite, Subject and Darling of History ; How like a General and perfect Master in that Trade does he acquit himself ! How exact and painful is he in his Descriptions of Battles by Land and Sea, descending to every particular that may afford light to his Reader ! How finely, fruitfully, justly, and morally does he Instruct and Reason on Events of Councils, Battles and all kind of Transactions ! How does Hannibal's Craft and Wisdom, and Flaminius's Rashness and Folly appear in his Account of the Battle of Thrasymene, insomuch that from Readers we become Spectators of all those Exploits ! How faithful is he to the Character of the Carthaginians, in their Naval Knowledge and Strength ! And with what Frankness, Assurance and Impartiality does he shew the Romans Ignorance, and reprove their Rashness, when he compares those two People on the Subject of their Maritime Affairs and Adventures ! All which we read with pleasure, and approve with ease. So that, in a word, he will be found throughout to preserve his Character of a Grave, Able and Impartial Writer. He is censur'd I know somewhere, for his little Religion, which Aspersion his own Words will best wipe off, where, in his Fifth Book, he so solemnly reprehends Philip, Son of Demetrius ;
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and the Etolians for their impious Razing of Temples, and casting down of Statues, and the Altars of the Gods. But I should intrench on the Province of a much abler Undertaker, should I further prosecute this Subject; the Character of Polybius being, as I am told, undertaken by One, who of all others, is best able to do him Justice. Wherefore leaving my Author in so good Hands, I proceed to the Subject, and observe that the Person, the Matter, and the Period of Time wherein he Wrote, seem'd to conspire to the Dignity and Perfection of the Work, which was a Body of General History, consisting of Forty Books; of which Number, to the unspeakable Loss of the World, Five only entire have descended down to us: But it has happily chanc'd, that they are the Five Books from the beginning in their Order; tho' the two first not being of the Body of his History, and rather a Proem to that great Undertaking; the Reader will not be Surpriz'd, nor take Offence to see the Preface, as I may say, to what is now publish'd, swell so much out of all Proportion to the Book, when he shall consider that properly Speaking, it is the Portico or Frontispiece of a so much statelier Edifice; and as it contains a Summary or Abstract of the entire Work, so does it not a little confer to Institution. The whole Work contain'd the History of the Romans; their Transactions and Adventures with the Carthaginians; Greeks, the Princes of Asia, Ægypt, Spain, and all the most memorable Occurrences of the World, during the space

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of Three and Fifty Years, beginning with the second Punick War, which comment'd in the third Year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, and of the World three thousand seven hundred eighty seven, and ending with those Affairs which gave a Period to the Macedonian Monarchy. Which Space of time, as it contains the Bulk of all the great Actions, Conquests, and Successes of the Roman People, so it seems to be the very Meridian of their Glory and Virtue; for they had now by their long practice in War and their conversation with the Greeks, and other polish'd Nations, refin'd their Manners, which before were coarse and rustick. They had scour'd off the Rust of their Old Iron Discipline, so Austere and Rigid, that it grew to an Idol, a Moloch; to which Generals sacrific'd even their Sons: No Citizens Blood, in civil Dissention, had yet stain'd their Concord: Poverty, 'tis true, had began to cease to be a Vertue, and was not so venerable as when their Dictators went to Plough: But their Taste of Riches seem'd rather an Effect of their Ambition and Military Glory to adorn their Triumphs, and replenish their Treasury with a Fund to enable them to prosecute their Design of Subduing the World. They had yet no leisure for Luxury; and that eager Spirit of Conquest which spurr'd and inspir'd them, had preserv'd their Minds hitherto untainted with the Vices of Ease and a voluptuous Life. In a word, their good Discipline, which Industry, long Practice, and the Necessity and Danger of
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the State had taught them, while they were yet but weak, and under the apprehension of dangerous Rivals, became at length, when it had secur'd them against Invaders, to inspire them with the Spirit of Invasion; and conducted them to the acquisition of that stupendous Power and Dominion, which was the Subject of so many Triumphs, and compleated, in conclusion, their Subjection of the Universe. What their Discipline was, has been the Argument of many Pens, and wou'd not suit with this Work to enlarge on: But what Discipline is, in the Abstract, I may essay to deliver my Opinion in few words.

Good Discipline is the Substance and Sum-total of Military Science, and he who would aspire to the Command of Armies by Sea or Land, and is not himself duly Train'd, and a Master therein, and a Lover, Promoter, and Exacter of it in others, shall betray the Prince or State who Trusts him; and expose himself and Country to manifold Perils and Disasters. The Principles of Discipline are partly collected and digested into a Body of standing Rules and Instructions; the Harvest of wise and long Experience of the best Men, in the best Times; and partly Unwritten and Traditional, infus'd by Practise, Conversation and diligent Application and Inquiry of those who would be Proficients therein. In short, 'tis an Art or Habit of prudential Fortitude, on the nicest and most perilous Adventures of Humane Life. Now the Fruit which is gather'd, is in the Practise of these

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these Documents ; and the hinge and center of Motion of this great Machine, on which it turns, is Obedience ; which among the Romans was Sacred and Inviolable, as the Oracles of their Gods, the Breach whereof was more punishable when successful, than otherwise. For though Fortune was among them a Deity, Discipline was more Worsbipp'd, and they would not allow her to justify a rash Action. Thus Papirius, the Dictator, was hardly won to spare young Fabius, his Master of the Horse, for Fighting though successfully in his absence, against his Order ; whose Life, with much Difficulty, was given to the Tears and Merits of his old Father. And the Story of Titus Manlius, who condemn'd his brave Son to Death, is a cruel Instance. Discipline is the Art of doing the hardest Things, the easiest and nearest way ; her prime Element is Honour : She teaches us to Dye without Fear, when we cannot Live without Reproach ; she absolves the most unfortunate Actions where she Conducts ; she shews us how to be Savers when we cannot Win, and loses many a Battle without loss of Fame ; she rallies and reunites broken Troops, and has often snatch'd the Lawrel from the Brow of Victory her self ; she is the brave Man's Motto, and the Coward's Shield. The one she Urges, while she Animates the other ; she sustains hunger-starv'd Armies, and makes them Obey, March, Fight and Vanquish without Clothes on their Backs, Meat in their Bellies, or Flesh on their Bones. To suffer patiently

ently Hunger, Cold, and want of every needful Thing, is a lasie, feminine, and, as I may say, a vagabond Vertue: but to act bravely, to obey silently, and exactly, and to do worthily in every thing under such Straights and Tryals, belongs only to those whose Minds and Manners are imbued with this Sovereign Vertue of good Discipline. But that we may not Spin this Thread too fine, let us contract our Speculation, by saying in short, That Discipline is the Soul of Military Action; 'tis the Founder and Preserver of Kingdoms; she leads Fortune her self in Triumph, and by her (under Providence) Princes Reign, and their Thrones are Establish'd. Under her Banners did the Romans subdue the World, and vanquish in Battel more than double their number of Enemies, equal, if not superiour to them, in Strength and natural Courage; and the Glory of that great State ebb'd and flow'd with their Discipline, which, as it is the Parent of Success, so is it the Child of mighty Vertue and Industry: Vice and Luxury (which are her mortal Foes) have no Footing where she Governs; they are so incompatible, that the Depression of the one, is ever the Advancement of the other; no State, but by Miracle, can sink under her Conduct, or be safe where she is not cherish'd. What has made our Neighbouring Prince so Formidable, but their excellent Form, and exact Observance of the Precepts of good Discipline, where Obedience, like the Key-stone in the Arch, binds and sustains the whole Fabric?

brick? And if discerning Eyes would look near, and penetrate the ground and necessity of this Duty, in our Case, they would discover Reasons that are not visible to vulgar Eyes. Wherefore I will take leave of the Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, to allow this kind of Obedience, the preference to all kinds of Submission, or Resignation whatsoever. The Ancients have painted Occasion only bald behind, but here we may add Wings too; For what is more fleeting and fugitive, when she's often hardly seen, but she's past? Crowns, Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and every thing Sacred and Valuable among Men, do, in our Case, often hang on a single Thread of a Moment; which by one bare Act of Disattention, or Disobedience to Orders, may be lost: And History is thick set with Instances, (which I may here be excus'd from exemplifying) where what I say is abundantly prov'd. The Schools may amuse and intangle us with their Cobweb-learning, their Terms and Subtilties; but let them show me in sound Wisdom and safe Morals any Transgression of Obedience to whatsoever Humane Precept, that can bring a heavier Judgment on Mankind, where no Sacrifice, or Penance can Attone, or Power Absolve. We shall not then (I trust) be thought in the wrong, in thus dignifying this Vertue of Obedience in Military Conduct.

I was almost engag'd unawares to extend my Contemplation on this noble Theme, which, by applying it to Ourselves, with

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respect especially to Our Naval Discipline, might perhaps have prov'd no Disservice to my Country. But as we never visit Persons of Quality by the bye, but obtain an Hour to perform our Respects with Decency : So I have concluded I ought to treat that Subject, which as it wou'd swell beyond the due Bounds of a Preface; so it deserves to be handl'd with more Regard, than cou'd be observ'd towards it in this Place.

H. S.

P O.

POLYBIUS's
General History
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

VOL. I. BOOK I.

IF other Authors, who have gone before us, had omitted to speak in the Praise of History ; it might perhaps have left an Engagement on us, to recommend principally, that sort of Study to the World, in as much as there is no Means or Method more short, or less difficult, whereby to cultivate the Mind, than the knowledge of Times past. But in regard it hath been the Business of many Writers, to shew, that the Fruit we gather from History, is the most mature and instructive, and yields the properest Materials to form the Understanding for Publick

Ufes; and best arms and prepares us, against the shocks of adverse Fortune, by the knowledge and reflection on other Mens Crosses and Calamities; our silence therefore on that Subject, will be the more pardonable, while the best we should be able say, would be no other than what so many excellent Wits have said before us; and when we have done all, our Subject needs it not: For, in short, the Account of those surprising Events, which we have undertaken to Publish, will suffice for its own Recommendation, and bespeak the Attention of Mankind to what shall be related. For who is so stupid and incurious, that would not be glad to learn, by what wonderful means and force of Conduct, the People of *Rome* could within the space of three and fifty Years, be able to compass the Conquest and Dominion of the greatest Part of the known World? A Felicity which never yet happen'd to any People, at least it hath not any parallel in History. And indeed what Spectacle, how magnificent and entertaining soever, to the most Curious; or what Speculation, tho' never so profitable to the most Studious, hath at any time been the Subject of our Contemplation, that ought not to give place and yield the Preference both in Pleasure and Instruction to the Knowledge of this Transcendent Story?

Nor will it be difficult to Exemplifie the
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Grandure and Singularity of the Work we have undertaken, by drawing Parallels between the *Roman* Empire, and the most Flourishing States that have been recorded in Story. And those, which in my Judgment are most worthy to be consider'd, are namely these that follow: First, the *Persian* Empire; which was once Great and Formidable, yet so it happen'd, that they never attempted to extend their Conquests beyond the bounds of *Asia*, but they not only endanger'd the loss of their Armies, but hazarded the State it self. The *Lacedamonians* strove long for the Dominion of *Greece*, and at length obtain'd it; but scarce held it Twelve Years in peaceable Possession. The *Macedonians* acquir'd a good share of Territory in *Europe*, extending from the *Adriatick* Sea to the *Danube*; but who will not confess, that this was but a small Tract, compar'd with that vast Continent? Afterwards indeed, their Conquests and Dominion spread into *Asia*, and the *Persian* Monarchy compos'd a part of their Empire. But what People is there, how powerful and enterprizing soever, of whom, it may not with Truth be said, That a very great part of this our World hath escap'd their Power and Ambition. In a word, the *Macedonians* never dream'd of attempting either *Sicily* or *Sardinia*, or of carrying their Arms into *Africk*; nor had they the least notice of many fierce and

mighty Nations inhabiting the Western Parts of *Europe*. While of the *Romans* it will with Justice be granted, that they have not vanquish'd by parcels, here and there a Kingdom; but subdu'd and extended their Empire over almost the known World, and have exalted and establish'd the Glory of their Dominion, to that degree of Power and Perfection, that if the present Age can but wisely support the Excess of their Prosperity, no future Times shall be able to produce the like.

The Sequel of this extraordinary Story, will prove with Evidence enough what we but now observ'd; namely, That of all Studies, That of History yields the most solid and profitable Fruit, when it makes profession of recounting Occurrences of past Ages with Candor and Fidelity. Ours with respect to Chronology, shall take beginning from the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad: The Subject Matter shall be; First, with respect to the *Greeks*, the Confederate War which *Phillip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, and Father of *Persius*, did in Conjunction with the *Achaians*, wage against those of *Aetolia*. Touching the *Asiatics*, we shall treat of the War in *Syria*, betwixt *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy Philopater*: As to what concerns *Italy* and *Africk*, we shall begin with the History of the War between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, commonly call'd the War
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of *Hannibal*. In brief, our History shall commence where *Arasus* the *Sycionian* gives a Period to his. For, in truth, the State in general of things to those Days, were (as one may say) scatter'd and confus'd, and without any common Relation; the Motives to their great Enterprises were divers, and also their Ends; and Times, and Places, were equally dark and distant. But here we have a Foundation and Body of History for our Guide; the Affairs of *Italy*, *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*, were now as it were incorporate, and conspiring to one and the same great End. And therefore I resolv'd, and thought it my best Method, here to begin what I have determin'd to write.

The *Romans*, proving Superior to the *Carthaginians* in the War we mention'd, found Assurance to believe, that they had now advanc'd far towards the Dominion of the World; and took resolution thence to pursue their good Fortune, and form'd thereupon their first Project, for transporting their Arms into *Greece*, and so into *Asia*. Were we not for the most part in the dark, touching the general State and Circumstances of those People, who from time to time contended for Sovereignty, we might perhaps spare the Pains we shall take, to enquire and shew, by what Means and Motives, the *Romans* were incited to engage in so vast an Enterprife. But in regard the World for

the most part is to learn by what stock of Strength and Military Conduct, the *Carthaginians* strove with their happier Rivals the *Romans*, and what Battels it cost to decide the Controversie; we have therefore thought it necessary, to conceive and digest our two first Books, into a form of Preface to the main Work; fearing lest if we should be engaged unawares, into the Narrative of such wonderful Adventures as will occur; we should with Astonishment look back on the mighty Progress, and be to seek for those Causes and Motives, that inspir'd the *Romans* to Embark in so extraordinary a Design, as the Acquisition of the Universal Empire. At least it may suffice, to initiate the Reader, and instruct him in the feasibility of the Enterprize, and shew, that their Power was not short of their Ambition, to attempt, and, in effect, to compass what they had projected. For what will be found singular and extraordinary in this Work, and those unparalell'd Examples of Events in this our Age, is, that Fortune leaning, and as it were with a strong Bias, bending all her Power one way, and Collecting and Confederating (as one may say) the Forces of the Universe, for the Accomplishment of one vast Design: We shall therefore labour to shew, and in one Draught, as in a Picture, gratifie the Reader with a Prospect of those Means and Steps, by which she conducted her

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her Counsels to bring this mighty Work to pass. And this indeed was what principally incited me to adventure on this Work, jointly with the Reflection, That no Author in these our Days, hath yet engag'd in the like Enterprisa, of Compiling and Publishing a General History; which under less Incouragement I should hardly have been drawn to undertake. But having observ'd, that albeit there are plenty of Writers, who have employ'd their Pens in Recording particular Wars, and some certain contemporary Transactions and Occurrences; yet there is not One (that I remember) who hath given us any Light into the Notions of General History; nor have those who have written, shewn any Care in adjusting the Chronology of the Affairs they have handled; nor the Causes and Reasons leading to any Revolution; nor the Progress and Management, nor the Manner of the Event of Things. I have then on these Reflections concluded it necessary, and that it would not be an ungrateful Present, to delineate and expose to Publick View this most Magnificent, and of all others the most Instructive Instance of Fortune's Power; who, tho' we have daily and numerous Accounts of her extraordinary Operations, and behold her constantly attempting new Proofs of her Abilities, we must nevertheless conclude, without any difficulty, that she hath given such Evidences
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of her Strength in our Days, as surpasses all Example.

Nor would it be easie to obtain a right Knowledge of so many marvelous Tranfacti-
ons, by any help that may be derived from
the Study of particular History, any more
than one can be enabled to give a true Ac-
count of the Structure and Figure of the wide
Universe, by having consulted the Map, or
visited some few Towns or Provinces thereof.
And we may fitly compare such as make that
wrong Judgment, to those, who, beholding
the dispers'd and single Members of some Bo-
dy, which while it had Life and Motion, had
Beauty and other Excellencies; would under-
take to determine and distinguish of the Gra-
ces and Perfections wherewith it was Adorn'd,
when Living; while, in Truth, were it possible
to give a perfect Image of them, by uniting
the scatter'd Parts, restoring the Form, and
giving it Spirit and Motion, he would be o-
bliged to confess that all his Conjectures
had been a Dream: And yet we maintain
not, but that a sort of Judgment may be
made of the whole, by consulting only the
Parts, but the Certitude and entire Verity of
Things cannot be so acquir'd. In like man-
ner we conceive, that the bare Study of par-
ticular and limited Occurrences, can but little
avail towards the Improvement of our Know-
ledge in General History; which cannot be
attain'd, but by sorting (as I may say) and
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comparing Counsels and Events, by the Resemblances of Things we shall Observe, and the Difference we shall Remark; and thus we approach the Sanctuary, and penetrate the very Bosom of History, and the Fruit we gather will both profit and please. To conclude, The first Naval Expedition the *Romans* ventur'd on, beyond the Bounds of *Italy*, shall be the beginning, and as it were the Ground-work of this our first Book; wherein the Story is continued, where *Timæus* the Historian ends, which fell out in the Hundred and Twenty Ninth Olympiad.

It behoves us then to instruct the Reader, first, in the Time when, and the Mearns and Manner how the *Romans* compos'd their Affairs in *Italy*; and then to observe what their Motives were to attempt crossing the Seas into *Sicily*, for that was their first Exploit out of *Italy*. These things, I say, it will be necessary first to explain, to the end we may avoid all danger of Obscurity in the pursuit of our History, and preserve the Coherence and Gradation of Causes and Things unbroken: It is likewise further necessary, that we should take our beginning from some certain and limited Period of Time, known and remarkable to all. And this will be found so very useful, that Matters will almost explain themselves, when there should be occasion to look back, to renew in the Mind the Notices of what is past. For where Accounts

counts are not founded on plain and uncontroverted Testimony, we read without Faith, and determine of nothing; whereas, when the Understanding is once set right, and established on the Evidence of clear and unblemish'd Grounds, we Study and Digest what we Read, with Pleasure and Assurance, and yield a ready Consent to the Candour and Authority of the Writer.

Nineteen Years after the Naval Battel that was fought on the River *Ægos*, and sixteen Years before the Field of *Leuctra*; about the time that the *Lacedæmonians* made Peace with the *Persian* King, by the procurement of *Antalcidas*; *Diomysius* the Elder having vanquish'd the *Greeks*, who inhabited *Italy* near the River *Elleporas*, laid Siege to the City of *Rhegium*. The *Gauls* were at that time Masters of *Rome*, which they had taken all but the Capitol; and the *Romans*, having compounded with the Enemy, under such Capitulations as the *Gauls* themselves thought fit to impose, were rescu'd, as it were by Miracle, and restor'd to their Country beyond all Expectation: And having now laid in some Materials towards the Foundation of their growing Power; they began to wage War on the neighbouring States. And after they had well-nigh subdu'd the *Latins*, partly by their Courage, and partly by the Address they had acquir'd by their long Exercise in Arms, they advanc'd against the *Tuscans*, and had

had to do, almost at the same time, with the *Gauls*; and then warr'd on the *Samnites*, who were the *Northern* and *Eastern* Borders upon the *Latins*. Soon after, and about a Year before the *Gauls* invaded *Greece*, and the Remainder of that People who had rifled *Delphos*, and were almost all cut off, pass'd into *Asia*; *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirots*, arriv'd in *Italy*, invited thither by the *Tarentines*, who began to apprehend the Consequences of their having violated the *Roman* Ambassadors. The *Romans* having subdu'd the *Tuscans* and *Samnites*, and often vanquish'd the *Celts*, began to prosecute their Success against the rest of *Italy*; not so much to invade the Property of their Neighbours, as to ascertain and secure what they now reckoned their own; having by their long and frequent Wars with the *Samnites* and *Gauls* greatly improv'd their Discipline and Experience, so as to conduct their Armies with better prospect of Success. The *Romans* having then, greatly to their Reputation, sustain'd the shock of so many hazardous Enterprises, and expelled all Foreign Invaders, and even *Pyrrhus* himself out of *Italy*; they now proceed to shew their Resentment against those who had taken part with that Prince; whom, after they had subdu'd, and brought under their Power, together with what remain'd unconquer'd of *Italy*, the *Gauls* only excepted; they made an Expedition against
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Rhegium, then possessed by certain of their own mutinous Subjects. One and the same Adventure beset two principal Places, situate in the Streight of that Sea, namely, *Rhegium* and *Messina*. In short, some time before those things happen'd, which we have been relating, a Party of *Campanian* Mercenaries, who had serv'd under *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, tempted with the Beauty and Riches of *Messina*, form'd a Conspiracy to surprize it, and keep the possession; which they did by Treachery, being receiv'd into the Town, and entertain'd as Friends. When they became Masters of the place, some of the Inhabitants they expell'd, and others they murther'd, retaining to their own use the Wives and Children of that unfortunate People, as they chanc'd to fall into their hands during the dispute: Thus having without much hazard or trouble obtain'd a remarkable Victory, and become possess'd of an opulent City, they divided the Riches and Territory amongst themselves. This Action gave Example to another of the like barbarous Treachery. During *Pyrrhus's* Devastations in *Italy*, those of *Rhegium*, apprehensive of the danger of this new and formidable Enemy; and being on the other hand in dread of the *Carthaginians*, who were in those days Masters of the Sea, besought the *Romans* to lend them Succours, and furnish them with a Garrison: Accordingly they supply'd them with four thousand

land Men, giving the Command to one *Decius a Campanian*, who for some time kept good Garrison, and demean'd themselves as they ought: But at length, in Imitation of the *Mamertines*, who supply'd them with Forces to effect their Treachery, they violated their Faith by the like villainous Act, tempted thereunto by the commodious Situation of the Place, and the Wealth of the Inhabitants; of whom, having possess'd the Town, some they expell'd, and some they cut off, transcribing the Treachery of that People exactly. The *Romans* had a just Sence of this wicked Act; but having at that time too much Business on their hands, by the Wars we but now related, were not in a Condition to express their Indignation in the Punishment of the Authors; but as soon as their Affairs permitted, they march'd against *Rhegium*, where they straitly besieg'd the Traitors, and in the end subdu'd them, who fought obstinately, as being desperate of Pardon, not above three hundred of them being taken alive; who being sent to *Rome*, were by the Command of the Prætor, dragg'd to the common place of Execution, where, as the manner is, they were first scourg'd with Rods, and then beheaded. The *Romans*, over and above the Equity, were not without Foresight, that the Consequences of this Act wou'd be to conciliate in their Neighbours, the Opinion of their Justice and Honour, which had been much blemished

ished by this piece of Treachery ; so the *Rhegi*ans were forthwith restor'd to their Town and their Possessions.

As to the *Mamertines* (for that Appellation those *Campanians* assum'd) who had so wrongfully possess'd *Messina*, they enjoy'd, without any Molestation, both the Town and Territory, so long as they cou'd derive Succours from the *Romans* their Friends in *Rhegium*, and liv'd not only secure, and fearless of any danger, but were often the Aggressors on their Neighbours the *Carthaginians*, and those of *Syracuse*, and gave them work enough to defend the adjacent Country ; putting many Towns and Villages under Contribution. But they were no sooner depriv'd of the Aids of *Rhegium*, which now could not defend itself, when the face of their Fortune chang'd ; being attack'd by the *Syracusians*, and driven within their own Walls ; that People having declar'd War against them for Reasons we shall briefly deliver.

Sometime before this, while the Army of the *Syracusians* encamped near *Mergania*, there happened a Dissention between the Souldiers and Citizens of *Syracuse* ; the Souldiers thereupon made choice of new Leaders, namely, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, who was afterwards King of *Syracuse*, he was then indeed but young, howbeit Nature had given him all the good Qualities to be wish'd in a Prince. He was no sooner advanc'd to this Power,
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but by the secret Practices and Address of some of his Friends, he got possession of the City, where he soon suppress'd those of the contrary Faction; but proceeding in all things with so much Gentleness and Humanity, that tho' the *Syracusians* would not approve the Election made by the Army, he was nevertheless received as Prætor, without the least Contest. From the very beginning, by the manner of his Administration of that Authority, it plainly appear'd to those who could best discern, that he was Born to something yet greater than the Prætorship. For having rightly inform'd himself of the Humours and Manners of the *Syracusians*, that they were Seditious, and no sooner in Arms, but they fell into Factious and Mutinous Practices; and farther observing, that *Leptines*, one of the prime Citizens, Superiour to the rest both in Credit and Interest, and in great Reputation with the People for his Justice and Probity, would be very useful to him; with him he made an Alliance, by taking his Daughter to Wife, and proposing to lodge the Authority in the City with him, during his Expeditions with the Army abroad. Having compass'd these things, and observing the old Mercenary Souldiers to have lost their Discipline, to be quite spoil'd with Idleness and Debauchery, and to be over and above not very well affected to him, but were bandying and meditating some new Commoti-

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ons ; he therefore forms a pretence of an Expedition against the *Barbarians*, who were possess'd of *Messina* ; and having march'd out his Forces, he Incamp'd near *Centuripa*, in sight of the Enemy, where, drawing up to ingage them, not far from the River *Cyamosoros*, he so ordered his Battel, that keeping his own Horse and Foot near himself, with shew of attacking the Enemy elsewhere, he by that means designedly expos'd the *Mercenaries* to the entire shock of the *Mamertines*, where they were all cut off ; and while the Enemy were busied in the Execution, withdrew his own People in safety to *Syracuse*. By this Artifice he punish'd his *Mercenaries*, and got rid of the disorderly and seditious part of his Army. In brief, having form'd an Army to his own Mind, he govern'd and preserv'd his Authority in great Peace and Security ; and observing the Enemy to be grown Inolent by their late Success, and that they made Inroads, and spoil'd the neighbouring Country, he march'd out of the City with his new Army, which he had now well Disciplin'd, and meeting them in the Plains of *Mylaeus*, near the River *Longanus*, he obtain'd an entire Victory, routing their Army, and taking their principal Officers Prisoners : By which Success they were so humbled, that they lost all Courage for the future. Having perform'd these things against the *Barbarians*, he return'd with his Army

Army to *Syracuse*, where he was proclaim'd King by the Souldiers.

As to the *Mamertines*, they being now depriv'd of their wonted Succours from *Rhegium*, and their own strength being greatly diminish'd by their late losses, one Party apply'd to the *Carthaginians*, and deliver'd the Citadel into their Hands; another sent Ambassadors to the *Romans*, praying their Assistance, and offering them the possession of the City, imploring their Protection on the account of their Alliance and common Original. The *Romans* were long debating what to determine herein, nor indeed could they honestly resolve to assist them, it being apparent how great a blemish it would be to their Honour, who, while they animadverted on the Treachery of their own Citizens at *Rhegium*, should be found abetting and supporting the *Mamertines*, eminently guilty of the like Crime. But they saw too, that the *Carthaginians* had not only subdu'd *Africa*, but had made themselves Masters of many places in *Spain*; and that *Sardinia*, and all the adjacent Islands on the Coast of *Italy*, were already in their possession; these Reflections were weigh'd with apprehension enough, for the *Romans* already look'd on the *Carthaginian* Neighbourhood with an Eye of Jealousie, being, as it were, now surrounded by them; and knowing that they had designs on *Italy* it self; they foresaw how formidable

midable they would grow by the Accession of all *Sicily* to their State; and perceiv'd too, that this Island, unless they interpos'd to prevent it, by assisting the *Mamertines*, would certainly fall into their Hands: For *Messina* would soon be theirs, and *Syracuse* would not then be long able to withstand them, the Territory of which two places contain'd a principal part of the Island. All this they clearly understood, and knew it would not be safe for them to abandon those of *Messina*, and permit the *Carthaginians* to be Masters of a Post, that might prove as it were a Bridge to conduct them into *Italy*. These Points were long and solemnly debated, and yet the Senate could not be drawn to determine without mighty difficulty, foreseeing that the Reproach in assisting the *Mamertines* would be greater than the Benefit. But the People, who had been greatly impoverish'd by their late Wars, and each Man propounding to himself some way or other to repair his own particular damage, decreed to carry on the Enterprize; and the rather, for that those who were to have Command of the Armies, manifested how profitable an Undertaking it wou'd be both for the State in general, and each Man in particular. The Decree therefore pass'd, and was confirm'd by an Ordinance of the People; and *Appian Claudius*, one of the Consuls, was ordered to conduct an Army forthwith into *Sicily*, to the Relief of *Messina*.

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To him the *Mamertines* deliver'd up the City, after, either by Art or Force, they had got rid of the *Carthaginian* Officer who commanded in the Citadel: But the *Carthaginians* suspecting Treachery or Cowardise, ordered the said Governour to be Crucified. At the same time they directed their Fleet to make towards *Pelorus*, and encamp'd with their Land-Army near a Town called *Senes*, and besieg'd *Messina* with all their Forces. *Hieron* conceiving he saw now a fair prospect of exterminating the *Barbarians*, Possessors of *Messina*, out of *Sicily*; enters into a Confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, and forthwith marches with an Army from *Syracuse* towards *Messina*, and encamp'd along the Mountain *Chalcidicus*, to cut off all Correspondence with the besieg'd on that side. But *Appius Claudius*, with unspeakable Bravery, passing the *Streight* by Night, got at length into *Messina*. Howbeit, perceiving the Besiegers resolute, and the Town straitly press'd on both sides, and the Army superior by Sea and Land, and apprehending both Danger and Dishonour in the Enterprize, he dispatch'd Ambassadors to the *Carthaginians* and *Hieron*, to treat about an Accommodation, and obtain Peace for the *Mamertines*. But the Negotiation not taking effect, and finding there was now no Remedy but Fighting; he resolv'd first to attack the *Syracusians*: Accordingly he march'd out against

Hieron, who oppos'd him with great Readiness and Gallantry, but after a long and very sharp Conflict the *Romans* had the day; beating and pursuing the Enemy into their Camp; and so *Appius* return'd Victorious into *Messina*, loaded with the Spoils of the Enemy: And *Hieron*, who perceiv'd he had made a wrong Judgment touching the Issue of the War, march'd away immediately towards *Syracuse*. *Claudius* receiving next Morning Intelligence of his Retreat, and being now full of assurance by his late Success, resolv'd to lose no time, but forthwith to Attack likewise the *Carthaginians*. Pursuant to which Resolution, he order'd his Army to take their repast betimes, and to be under their Arms earlier than ordinary; and sallying out by break of Day, he surpriz'd the Enemy, and routed them with great Slaughter; those who escap'd being broken and scatter'd, securing themselves in the Neighbouring Towns. Having obtain'd these Victories, and rais'd the Siege from before *Messina*, he began now to make Inroads here and there upon the Neighbouring Country, and proceeded without impediment to plunder as far as the Territory of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, whither at length he march'd with his Army, and sat down before *Syracusa*. Thus have I related the Motives, and given the History of the *Romans* first Expedition out of *Italy*. And for as much as we have judg'd
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and chosen this Conjunction, as the most proper and sure Basis, whereon to superstruct our whole Design; we have therefore concluded, that we cannot better prepare the Mind of the Reader for what follows, than by setting out from hence. Tho' we have look'd yet a little farther back, the better to open and explain the Reasons of Things, to the end there may not remain the least doubt. For in my Judgment, whosoever would attain a right Knowledge of the present Greatness of the *Roman* State, should first be inform'd, when, and how Fortune began to Espouse their Cause, for they had once lost their Country; and farther, to be well instructed in the Means by which, and the time when, they had intirely reduc'd *Italy* under their Dominion, they began to form Designs of their remoter Conquests. It will not therefore be thought strange, if when we are to Treat of Great States and Mighty People, we should labour to unfold the remotest Accounts of Antiquity, and draw our Supplies from as near the Spring-head as may be, which is the course we have taken, that we might be sure to build on sound and unshaken Principles, so that whatsoever People shall be the Subject of our Story, we shall endeavour to shew how, and when they began, and the Steps that conducted them to that degree of Power and Greatness, wherein we shall behold them. And this is the Method we have

been already pursuing, touching the Affairs of the *Romans*. But we will forbear farther Digressions, and proceed to our History, after we have lightly touch'd on some Preliminary Matters; and what falls in order principally to be noted, is the Transactions between the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, during their Contention about *Sicily*; next will be the War in *Africk*: To which is annex'd the War the *Carthaginians* wag'd in *Spain*, mannag'd first by *Hamilcar*, and after him by *Asdrubal*; about which time, the *Romans* invaded *Illiria*, and other remote Countries of *Europe*; then shall be handled the War they made on the *Gauls* inhabiting *Italy*, and in course, we shall mention that in *Greece*, call'd the *Cleomenick* War, which gives a period to our Second Book: Of these in order, with some necessary Remarks for better light into our History; for we have not conceived it necessary, or in any manner profitable, to be over particular in those things, it not being our purpose to write their History, but so to touch them, as may suffice the better to guide the Reader into what we purpose to relate. In a word, it will be easily perceiv'd by the Thread of our Discourse, how necessary it was to make some recital of what others have said before, so as to let in the Mind of the inquisitive, by an easier passage to subsequent Occurrences: But above all, it behoves us to be punctual in setting down

down the Revolutions in *Sicily*, during the War there, between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, than which for duration, there is hardly any Example of the like in History, nor of the Provisions that were made to Prosecute it, nor for the Greatness of Action, or importance and hazard of Enterprises, number of Battels, and extraordinary Adventures. For in short, those two States had liv'd hitherto under an exact observance of their Laws, their Discipline was pure and unshaken, their Wealth not burthensome, and their Strength equal. Whosoever therefore shall carefully consider the Form and Power of those two States respectively, will be better able to collect Matter, whereby to make a juster Comparison by this War only, than by any subsequent Transactions whatsoever between them.

And now we have but one weighty Impediment to stay the Course of our History, which is, that *Philinus* and *Fabius*, the Historians, who have the repute of excelling all others, in their Exactness and Fidelity in delivering this Story, have not nevertheless been so just in their Relations as became them. And yet when I consider their manner of Life, I cannot well tell how to charge them with design'd Falshood. I am therefore inclin'd to think it hath happen'd to them, as it often does to Lovers, *Philinus's* Affection for the *Carthaginians*, hath brib'd
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his Belief in favour of their great Conduct, Wisdom and Generosity in all their Actions and Deliberations, and perverted his Judgment on the other hand, touching the *Romans*. As to *Fabius*, he acts the same part for his Country-men, nor would it be blam'd in the other Departments of his Private Life, it being but just, that a Man of Honour should bear Affection towards his Country and his Friends, and that he shew Aversion to their Enemies, and Love to their Friends. But when once a Man hath taken upon him the Character of an Historian, his Affections are no more his own, and he is to divest himself of every Passion. For how often falls it out to be the Duty of a Writer, to applaud the Merits of an Enemy, and blame the Conduct of a Friend, when their Faults and Follies so require. For as a Horse that is become blind, is render'd almost useles, so History, if Truth be once wanting, ceaseth to be of any use or instruction. We are therefore to make no difficulty to detect the Errors of a Friend, and to do right to the Vertues of an Enemy. Nor must we scruple sometimes to blame those, who but now had as just a Title to our Applause: It being impossible, that such, who have the Authority and Administration of Publick Affairs, should not sometimes miscarry, or that those who often err, should not be now and then in the right. We are not therefore to weigh the
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Rank or Fortune of those who are in Authority, but to be careful that our Writings speak the Truth of their Actions. And that this is a just Observation, will appear by what follows: *Philinus*, in the beginning of his Second Book, reports, that the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* besieg'd *Messina*; and that the *Romans*, who cross'd the Sea to their Assistance, made a Sally out of the Town, but were repuls'd with great Slaughter of their People: That soon after they made a second Sally upon the *Carthaginians*, when they were not only beaten and forc'd to retire, but lost the greatest part of their Army, taken Prisoners by the Enemy. He likewise tells us, That after this, *Hieron* was seiz'd with a panick fear, and so violent an apprehension of danger, that he deserted his Camp by Night, and march'd away to *Syracuse*; not only setting fire on his Tents, but withdrawing his Garrisons from all such places as he held in the Neighbourhood of the *Mamertines*. That the *Carthaginians*, in like manner quitted their Camp, soon after this Defeat of the *Romans*, and dispersing, quarter'd themselves in the Towns round about, without attempting to take the Field, or daring so much as to defend whatsoever they had without their Works; and that this Consternation seizing the *Carthaginian* Soldiers, disheartned their Officers from giving Battel to the *Romans*. That the *Romans* keep-

keeping in their Rear, did not only spoil and pillage the Country round about, but laid Siege even to *Syracuse*. These, in my Judgment, are Absurdities too gross to be examin'd. For what is more inconsistent, than to make those, who but now besieg'd *Messina*, and were in all things victorious, to fly without any apparent cause, and to consent to be themselves besieg'd. And as to the other Party, which he tells us, was besieg'd and vanquish'd, he gives them the Lawrel, makes them Masters of the Field, pursuing the Enemy, and leads them at length to the Siege of *Syracuse*: What Consistency now can be found in this Relation? We must determine therefore, that what he first delivers is false, or the sequel cannot be true. But the latter is true, for the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* were beaten and forc'd within their Works, and *Syracuse* and *Echetla* were both at one and the same time besieg'd by the *Romans*, as *Philinus* confesseth, the latter being a Town on their Frontiers. We cannot help concluding then, that this his first Account was untrue, and the Defeat he mentions a Falshood of his own coining; since he allows the *Romans* to have remain'd superiour to the Enemy in those Encounters before *Messina*. But, in short, we shall find both *Fabius* and *Philinus* to be the same Men throughout, as we shall have occasion to observe in the pursuit of our Story; to which,
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after this Digression, let us now return, and with the best Connexion we can, labour briefly and truly to relate the Adventures and Issue of this War.

Upon the News, at *Rome*, of the Success of *Appius* and the Legions in *Sicily*, *M. Othacilius* and *M. Valerius* being chosen Consuls, it was decreed, they should both go with all the Legions to prosecute that War. The *Romans*, over and above the Supplies drawn from their Allies, had at that time a Standing Force of Four Legions, out of which they form'd their yearly Levies, each Legion consisting of Four Thousand Foot, and Three Hundred Horse. Upon the arrival of the Consuls, most of the Towns and Places that had submitted to the *Syracusians* and *Carthaginians*, gave themselves up to the *Romans*; insomuch, that *Hieron* observing the Terror that was spread through the whole Island, on the one hand; and on the other, the Bravery and Number of the Legionaries, began to discern, that the Designs and Hopes of the *Romans* were founded on better Measures than those of the *Carthaginians*; which, after he had maturely weigh'd, he determin'd to endeavour to be reconcil'd to the *Romans*. Accordingly he dispatch'd Embassadors to treat with the Consuls about an Alliance, who without difficulty embrac'd the Overture; to which they were the more willingly dispos'd, on account of the great difficulty they

they were under with their Convoys ; being justly apprehensive , lest the *Carthaginians*, who were Masters at Sea, would be able totally to debar them of all Supplies of Provision ; and this Jealousie was so much the more reasonable, by how much their Troops, the last Year, were driven to great Straits.

The *Romans* then promising themselves good Fruit of this Alliance, readily yielded, and frankly embrac'd a Friendship with *Hieron*, on condition that all the *Roman* Prisoners should be releas'd without Ransom, and that the King should pay them down a Hundred Talents in Silver, on which Stipulations the *Syracusians* should be held as Friends and Confederates of the People of *Rome*. Thus *Hieron*, secur'd by this Treaty, continu'd ever after a firm and profitable Friend to the *Romans*, and pass'd the rest of his Days in a peaceful enjoyment of the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, in very great esteem among the *Greeks* ; and, in a word, according to my Opinion, was one of the most Eminent and Illustrious Princes that had ever held that Scepter, and few will be found to have reap'd a larger share of Felicity acquir'd by his own Vertue ; whether we consider him in his Domestick or Publick Affairs.

This Treaty being sent to *Rome*, and ratify'd by an Ordinance of the People, it

was now thought advisable to abate of the Number of their Troops in that Service, and to send only two Legions; making account, that by this Alliance they should be eas'd of a great part of the Burthen of the War; and that their Army, through *Hieron's* Friendship, would now live in plenty of all things necessary. As to the *Carthaginians*, they considering, that *Hieron* of a Friend was become their Enemy, and that the *Romans* engag'd every day farther and farther in the Affairs of *Sicily*, and that they were become Superiour to them in Strength, deliberated about providing a greater Force to oppose them, and to preserve their own Acquisitions in *Sicily*. Accordingly they rais'd a great number of Mercenary Troops in the Transmarine Nations their Friends; as the *Genoves*, *Gauls*, and, principally, the *Spaniards*; and judging, that *Agrigentum* was the most commodiously situate for their purpose, which being besides the most eminent of all the Cities of their Dominion, they made it the Rendezvous of their Armies, resolving it should be a place of Arms, and their chief Magazine. The *Roman* Consuls, who had concluded the Treaty with *Hieron*, were now return'd to *Rome*, and the new ones, *L. Posthumius*, and *Q. Mamilius*, arriv'd with the Legions, who, after they had been well instructed in the Designs of the *Carthaginians*, and of the Preparations they

they were making at *Agrigentum*, were resolv'd to prosecute the War with all their might, and without taking any other Affair in hand, forthwith march'd with their whole Army and invested that place; and incamping about eight Furlongs off, totally block'd up the *Carthaginians*. This happen'd about the time of Harvest, and the Siege being in all probability likely to last, the Souldiers on both sides were wont to disperse themselves carelessly abroad, farther than they ought, to Forage, and gather in their Corn. This the *Carthaginians* observing, and beholding the Fields full of *Roman* Souldiers, dispers'd in a disorderly manner, made a Sally upon them, as they were then busie in their Harvest; and having scatter'd them, one Party attempted the pillaging the Camp, and another attack'd their Guards. But here the Excellency of the *Roman* Discipline was eminently seen, as it hath appear'd on many occasions, to their great Honour and the Benefit of their Affairs. For, as it is a most unpardonable fault to desert their Post, or abandon their Corps of Guard; those who had thus carelessly neglected their Duty, resolv'd to repair their Fault by some remarkable Behaviour; accordingly they rally'd, and bravely sustain'd the shock of the Enemy, tho' superior in number; and albeit some of the *Romans* fell, the loss on the Enemies side was much greater. In short, they surrounded

rounded the *Carthaginians*, who had well-nigh forc'd their Retrenchment, and making a great slaughter among them, compell'd them at length to retreat to their Works. After this Action the *Carthaginians* were more cautious in their Sallies, and the *Romans* became more wary in their Foraging. And now, seeing the *Carthaginians* made no more such adventurous Sallies, and their Fighting was reduc'd to Skirmishing and Picquering in small Parties, the Consuls thought it best to divide their Army into two Bodies; with one they possess'd the Ground where the Temple of *Æsculapius* stands, facing the Town; and with the other, that on the side towards *Heraclea*, in which two places they encamp'd, and fortify'd their Leaguer with Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, to prevent Attempts from the Town, and hinder Supplies and Correspondence from without, and to secure themselves from Surprises: And in the Space between their two Lines they appointed strong Guards, plac'd at convenient distances. Their Provisions and all Necessaries, were plentifully supply'd, and brought by their Allies to *Erbesa*; and from that Town, which was not far from their Camp, their Convoys pass'd without impediment. Affairs continu'd in this posture for five Months, neither Party gaining upon the other any advantage that might augment eithers hopes; their

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Engagements being, for the most part, in slight Skirmishes. But, to be brief, there being not less than Fifty Thousand Souls in *Agrigentum*; this mighty Number soon reduc'd them to great straits for Provision, and a Famine thereupon ensu'd. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, who commanded in chief, foreseeing he should not be able long to sustain the Siege, dispatch'd frequent Advices to *Carthage*, remonstrating their ill Condition, and demanding speedy Succours. The *Carthaginians* thereupon took Order for the embarking Elephants, and all the Soldiers and Succours they could put on Board their Fleet, consigning them to *Hanno* their other General in *Sicily*. Who assembling his Forces at *Heraclea*, march'd with all his Strength towards *Erbessa*; which place he surpris'd, being put into his Hands by Treachery; and, by this Success, having depriv'd the Enemy of all manner of Relief, the *Romans*, who were but now the Besiegers became themselves besieg'd; and, in a word, were reduc'd to such Straits of all kinds, that they often deliberated about raising the Siege; and had put it in execution, had not *Hieron* afforded them what Help he was able, which, with great Parsimony, sustain'd them.

Hanno having Intelligence of the evil state of the *Roman* Army, that they were enfeebld by Want, and diminish'd by Diseases, the
 Plague

Plague being got among them, took Assurance to think he might be now a Match for them. He chose, therefore, about Fifty Elephants, and march'd with all his Troops in great haste from *Heraclea*, sending his *Numidian-Horse* before, who had Orders to charge up to the Enemies Retrenchments, with shew as if they would Engage them; and to Retreat towards the Army, in case the *Romans* Sallied out upon them. This Service they punctually perform'd, attacking one of the *Roman* Camps, who march'd out with their Horse against them, whilst they, pursuant to the Orders they had receiv'd, retreated to the Army, and joyn'd *Hanno*; then the whole Army facing about, attack'd the *Roman* Horse, encompassing them round, and doing great Execution, pursu'd them to their Camp. Soon after, *Hanno* seiz'd on an Eminence, call'd *Mount Torus*, distant from the *Romans* about Ten Furlongs, and there Encamp'd his Army: Where two Months pass'd without any remarkable Action; he being unwilling yet to come to a pitch'd Battel, and entertaining the Enemy only with slight Rencounters in small Parties. But now *Hannibal* giving notice, as well by Signs from the Town, as by Expresses; That they were no longer able to sustain the Wants they were under, and that many were by Famine compell'd to Desert, and go over to the *Romans*; *Hanno* was at length drawn to come to a Decision, to which

the *Romans* were equally dispos'd, for the Reasons already noted. So the two Armies were drawn out on the Ground between their two Camps, where they Fought, and the Success was long doubtful, till the *Romans* forc'd the Mercenaries, who had the Vanguard, to give back; who, as they retreated, falling in among the Elephants, those Animals, being disorder'd, broke the Line that sustain'd their Rear, which Accident discompos'd the whole Army. Whereupon the *Carthaginians* were put to flight, the *Romans* making great slaughter among them. Many were Slain, and but a few got into *Heraclea*, the Conquerours taking most of the Elephants and all the *Cathaginian* Baggage. But what with the Joy of the Victory, and Weariness of the Souldiers after the Battel, the *Roman* Guards, the following Night, were not kept with their Customary Vigilance; which being perceiv'd by *Hannibal*, who now despairing of Safety in the Town, took this Negligence of the *Romans* as an Invitation to him to attempt his Escape; he therefore, about Midnight, with the Forreign Troops that were in the Town, took his March, and filling the *Roman* Trenches with Faggots, pass'd over their Works, and escap'd unhurt and unseen. The *Romans*, who saw not their Error till the Morning, contented themselves with a short Pursuit, Attacking them in the Rear, and at the same time possess'd themselves

selves of the Town without Resistance : Where they took many Slaves, and an inestimable Booty of all sorts of Riches. There was great Joy at *Rome* on the News of the taking of *Agrigentum* ; every-body was pleas'd, and each Man's Courage and Hopes were rais'd, and they resolv'd to prosecute the Success of these their first Enterprises. They thought it not now enough to have Rescu'd *Messina*, and Enrich'd themselves by the War, but elevated their Purposes and Expectations to the entire expelling the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and exalting the *Roman* Name and Power ; for, indeed, that was the true Mark towards which all their Aims were levell'd. To proceed, it was now evident, that the *Romans* were Superiour by Land, and that their Hopes were not ill grounded, that *L. Valerius*, and *L. Octacilius*, the New Consuls, Successours to those who took *Agrigentum*, would be able to go through with the Conquest of *Sicily*. But still the *Carthaginians* were Masters at Sea, and this Regard preserv'd them yet in equal Terms and Hopes with their Enemy. It is true, that upon the Success at *Agrigentum*, many Towns and Cities in the Inland Country of *Sicily*, terrify'd with the *Roman* Power by Land, submitted to their Discretion, but many of those that were situate on the Coast, abandon'd the *Romans*, through an apprehension of the *Carthaginian* Strength by Sea : These things be-

ing well weigh'd, it appear'd, that the Success of the War stood yet doubtful ; it was observ'd, that the Coast of *Italy* lay expos'd to the Depredations of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, who often made Descents upon them ; that *Africk* was in perfect Tranquility, and without any feeling of the Violences of the War : On these Motives the *Romans* determin'd to make Provision of a Naval Army, to match the *Carthaginians* on that side likewise : And this, indeed, was my Motive to enlarge, and be the more particular in setting down the Adventures of this War, and to treat distinctly about the Motives, and the Means, the Time when, and possess the Reader with the whole Series of Causes, that incited and enabled the *Romans* first to adventure on their Maritime Expeditions. After they had well consider'd, that the War was likely to last, they thought it concern'd them to be Masters of a Fleet, and accordingly proceeded on their Preparations, building at their first Essay, no less than an Hundred *Quinquereme* Gallies, and Twenty *Triremes*, which could not but be a very difficult Undertaking, the *Romans* being totally ignorant in the Construction of this sort of Vessels, which were not yet come into use in *Italy*. Whence may with Admiration be gather'd, the extraordinary Virtue, and wonderful Bravery of that People, in Enterprises of the greatest Hazard and Moment, who in the Minority of their

Fortune, destitute of all sorts of proper Means, having never till that time so much as dream'd of Navigation, could thus at once, and as one may say, at a Heat, determine on so Adventurous an Expedition; and make the first Proof of their Skill in a Naval Battel against the *Carthaginians*, who held uncontested, the Dominion of the Sea, deriv'd from their Ancestors. And that I may give a farther Evidence of my Impartial Opinion of the *Roman* Resolution, it may be remark'd, That when they Shipp'd their Forces on their first Voyage to the Relief of *Messina*, where it import'd so much to have cover'd Ships, they were not at that time so much as Masters of one single Gally, no not a Brigantine; but by an intrepid Hardiness of Mind, wasted over their Troops in Vessels borrow'd of their Neighbours, the *Tarentines*, *Lacrians*, *Neapolitans*, &c. But it happening, that the *Carthaginians*, about that time, Cruising to attack them, one of their Gallies venturing too near the Shore, chanc'd to be stranded, and before they could get her off, the *Romans*, intercepting them, took her; and by the Model of this Galley they built their first Fleet. And, but for this Favour of Fortune, who had espous'd their Cause, it would have been almost impossible to have put their Purpose in Effect, so utterly Ignorant they were of the Art of Ship-building.

And now while some were attending that Affair, others assembled their Sea-faring People, to instruct them in the use of the Oar, wherein they proceeded after this manner ; They caus'd Banks to be contriv'd on the Shore-side, in the same Fashion and Order as they were to be in their Gallies, and placing their Seamen with their Oars in like manner upon the Banks, they there Exercis'd them ; an Officer for that purpose being plac'd in the midst, who, by Signs with his Hand, instructed them, how, at once and altogether they were to dip their Oars, and how, in like sort, to recover them out of the Water ; by which means they became acquainted with the management of the Oar ; and as soon as their Vessels were built, they equipp'd them, and put to Sea ; where, after they had spent some time in practising upon the Water, what they had been learning by Land, they were order'd by the Consul to adventure along the Coast ; for at that time *Caius Cornelius*, who was General at Sea, was absent on an Expedition to *Messina*, with Seventeen Vessels under his Command, to give Directions there for the Reception and Security of the Fleet ; leaving Orders with the Pilots to make the best of their way to the *Streights*, so soon as they could get ready. During *Caius's* abode at *Messina*, an occasion seem'd to present for the Surprising of *Lipary*, but he conceiving earlier hopes of succeeding in the Design,

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than in Prudence he ought, went with his Squadron thither, and drew up under the Walls of the Town: Of this Design, *Hannibal*, who Commanded at Sea for the *Carthaginians*, and was as that time at *Palermo*, receiv'd Intelligence, and immediately dispatch'd away Twenty Gallies under the Command of one *Boodes*, a Senator; who arriving in the Night, block'd up *Caius* in the Harbour, and at break of Day, landing his Men, set upon the *Romans*: In this Surprise, *Caius* saw no Remedy, but to submit, and accordingly yielded himself up: So the *Carthaginian* possessing themselves of the Vessels, and the Principal *Roman* Officers, made the best of their way back to *Hannibal*. But not long after this Adventure of *Caius*, so much talk'd of, and applauded, it wanted but little that *Hannibal* himself had been taken in the like Snare. He receiving Advice, that the *Roman* Fleet was at Sea, and Cruising on the Coast of *Italy*, not far off; takes with him Fifty Gallies, and went a Head of his Fleet, to view, and be himself a Witness of the Number, and Posture of the Enemy; and standing towards *Italy*, the *Romans*, it seems, happening to be nearer than he was aware of, surpris'd him with their whole Fleet in order of Battel. In this Rancounter he lost the greatest part of his Squadron, and escap'd narrowly himself, when every-body despair'd of his Safety.

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The *Romans*, after this, made the best of their way for *Sicily*, and receiving Advice of the Defeat of *Caïas*, sent an Express forthwith for *Duilius*, who then had the Command of their Land-Forces in the Island: But while they attended his coming, receiving Advice, that the Enemies Fleet was at hand, they prepar'd to engage them. But, forasmuch as their Vessels were not built with extraordinary Art; and, consequently, were found somewhat unwieldy in working, it came into their Heads to recompence this defect, by contriving some new Invention, that might be of use to them in Fight; and then was devis'd that Machine, which was afterwards call'd *Corvus*, which Engine was fram'd after the following manner: They erected on the Prow of their Vessels, a round piece of Timber, of about a Foot and half Diameter, and about Twelve Foot long; on the top whereof they had a Block or Pulley; round this piece of Timber they fram'd a Stage or Platform of Boards, four Foot broad, and about eighteen Foot long, which was well fram'd, and fasten'd with Iron; the Entrance was longways, and it mov'd about the aforesaid upright piece of Timber, as on a Spindle, and cou'd be hoisted up within six Foot of the Top; about this was a sort of Parapet, Knee high, which was defended with upright Bars of Iron, sharpen'd at the ends, towards the top whereof there was a Ring:

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This Machine, resembling, in some sort, our fashion'd Mills. To be short, it was flung by those Rings, which by the help of the Pully was hoisted and lower'd at pleasure. And with this they attack'd the Enemies Vessels, sometimes on their Bow, and sometimes on the Broadside, as occasion best serv'd: So when ever they grappel'd the Enemy with those Engines, if they happen'd to swing Broadside to Broadside, then they enter'd from all parts, but in case they attack'd them on the Bow, they enter'd two and two by the help of this Engine; the foremost defending the forepart, and those that follow'd the Flanks, keeping the Bos of their Bucklers level with the top of the Paraper. In this posture the *Romans* prepar'd for the Battel.

As soon as *Caius Duilius* had notice of the Adventure of their General by Sea, he left the Land-Army to the Conduct of the several Colonels, and hasten'd himself to the Fleet; where, upon his arrival, receiving Advice that the Enemy ravag'd the Country on the Coast of *Mylas*, he made the best of his way with the whole Fleet, to Encounter them. The *Carthaginians*, on their side, greatly rejoic'd when they descried the *Romans*, and forthwith detach'd a Squadron of an Hundred and Thirty of their Ships, and stood off to Sea towards them, whom they held in so great Contempt, that they advanc'd with their Prows directly upon them, careless of any

any Order of Battel, dreaming of nothing but certain Victory, and the Pillage of the Enemy. He who commanded the *Carthaginian* Fleet, was the same *Hannibal* who defended and made his escape with the Army by Night from *Agrigentum*. His own Vessel was a Galley of Seven Banks of Oars, belonging formerly to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epyrus*: But as they approach'd, the *Carthaginians* became greatly surpris'd at the sight of those Engines we before mention'd, and stood sometime in suspence at the Novelty, never having before seen the like. Howbeit, this did not diminish their Contempt of the Enemy; and the headmost, by the boldness of their attack, made it appear how little they valu'd them. But the *Romans* grappling with them, by the help of their Engines, entering by them with ease, came to fight hand to hand with them, upon Deck, as on firm Ground: Some of the *Carthaginians* were slain, others yielded upon Quarter, frightened at the extraordinary effect of this new and wonderful Invention. They lost in the Fight, of those that came first to engage, Thirty Ships, with their whole Company, of which number *Hannibal's* Gally we mention'd, was one, who escap'd himself in a small Boat, when he was by all given for lost, after having perform'd the Duty of a gallant and able Leader. At length the rest of the Fleet came up, but when they perceiv'd the Defeat of
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their first Squadron, they held it safer to shun tempting their Fortune too far, and were surpris'd too at the sight of those new Engines. They therefore having greatly the Advantage in the lightness of their Vessels, us'd their best skill by nimbly rowing round them, to attack them with most safety; but when they observ'd, that which way soever they approach'd, those Machines were still travers'd and oppos'd to them, they were at length compell'd to yield the Honour of the Day to the *Romans*, retiring with the loss of Fifty of their Ships.

But the *Romans* Hopes were rais'd by this Success, who having against the Judgment of all the World, prov'd a Match for the *Carthaginians* at Sea, resolv'd to prosecute the War with greater Application; and forthwith landing their Forces on the Island, march'd to the Relief of *Ægesta*, which was straitly press'd by the Enemy, where they rais'd the Siege, and from thence, in a breath, march'd to the Attack of *Macella*, which they took by Assault. After these Successes, *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* General by Land, who was then at *Palermo*, receiving Intelligence of a Sedition in the *Roman* Army, occasion'd by a Dispute between the Legions and Auxiliaries of the Allies about Precedency, which came to a Separation of the Army; the Strangers retiring from the *Romans*, and being about to Encamp by themselves between *Paropus* and

POLYBIUS's *General History* Vol. I.
and *Thermis*; the *Carthaginians* surpris'd them, and slew to the number of Four Thousand.

Hannibal, upon his defeat at Sea, return'd with the remainder of the Fleet to *Carthage*, and being reinforc'd with more Ships and able Officers, he put to Sea again for *Sardinia*; where he no sooner arriv'd, when he was surpriz'd in Harbour by the *Romans*, who took many of his Ships. These Misfortunes begat a Mutiny in the remainder of the Army, who seiz'd on his Person, and Crucify'd him. And here it may be noted, that the *Romans*, as soon as they saw themselves Masters at Sea, form'd Designs likewise on *Sardinia*. The following Year produc'd little or nothing Memorable in *Sicily*. But on the creating their new Consuls, *Aulus Atilius* and *C. Sulpitius*, these, on their arrival, march'd with the Army directly towards *Palermo*, which at that time was the *Carthaginians* Winter-Quarter; where, as soon as they had posted themselves, the Consuls drew out the Army in Battel, but the Enemy lay quiet within the Town, whereupon they march'd to *Hippona*, which they carry'd by assault. They likewise took *Myristratus*, a strong place, which cost them Time and Trouble to reduce; and formally besieg'd *Camarina*, and attack'd it by Works and Engines, and, in the end, retook it, that place having before deserted their Party; and,

and, after having taken *Enna*, and several other places of less importance belonging to the *Carthaginians*, they prepar'd to sit down before *Lipara*.

The following Year the *Roman* Consul, *C. Atilius*, being with the Fleet at *Tyndaris*, descry'd the *Carthaginian* Fleet standing along the Coast in a confus'd and careless manner, whereupon he order'd a Squadron of Ten Gallies to give them chace. But the *Carthaginians* observing them to Embark their Men, and that some were already put off, and got out of the Port, and that the headmost were a good distance from the rest; they thereupon tack'd, and standing toward them, quickly surrounded them, and sank, and destroy'd the greatest part of that Squadron, where the Admiral-Gally was in great danger of being taken, and only by her lightness, and the force of her Oars, escap'd, after she was given for lost. But the other part of the *Roman* Fleet that was order'd to follow, after they were got together, and had rang'd themselves into order of Battel, engag'd the Enemy, taking Ten of their Vessels, with their Equipage, and sinking Eight: Whereupon the *Carthaginians* retir'd with the remainder of their Fleet, to the Islands of *Lipara*. But, for as much as the Success of this Battel stood doubtful, and either thought he had the better of the other in the Conflict, they therefore set themselves to work with
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all their might upon their Naval Preparations, to prosecute their Contention for the Dominion of the Sea. In the mean while their Troops perform little by Land, engaging in no Action of importance; but having increas'd their Naval Power on both sides, they put to Sea the following Summer. The *Romans* arriv'd at *Messina* with a Fleet of Three Hundred and Thirty Vessels, as well long as cover'd, from whence they stood along the Coast of *Sicily* to the Right-hand, and having doubl'd the Cape of *Pachin*, they stood towards *Ecnome*, where their Land-Forces then were. The *Carthaginians* arriv'd first at *Lilibæum*, their Fleet consisting of Three Hundred and Fifty Sail, fitted for Service; from thence they went to *Heraclea Minoa*, where they remain'd at Anchor.

The *Romans* had now form'd a Design to Transport the War into *Africk*, to the end the *Carthaginians* might find Employment in the Defence and Preservation of their own Country, while they were solicitous to contest for the Mastery in *Sicily*; but the *Carthaginians*, who knew full well how easie it was for an Army to march to *Carthage*; and that it would be no difficulty for an Enemy, who had once got footing in their Country, to make what Spoil he pleas'd; made appear by their eagerness to come to a Battel, that they were resolv'd to oppose this Design of the
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Romans with their utmost Power; so that the one Party having determin'd to Defend, and the other to Assault, it was not difficult to foresee, by the Obstinacy that appear'd in either, that they would soon come to a Battel. The *Romans* then took care, so to provide themselves of all things necessary, as to be in a Posture and Condition, either to make a Descent on the Enemies Coast, or to give them Battel by Sea. To this end, after they had first selected all the prime Men of their Land-Forces, they divided the Army, into four Divisions; to each of which they gave two Names; the first they call'd the First Legion, and the First Fleet, observing the like order in the rest; saving that the fourth Division had no other Name than *Triarians*, after the manner of their Land-Army. In this Fleet there were a Hundred and Forty Thousand Men that bore Arms; each Gally had Three Hundred Rowers, and One Hundred and Twenty Souldiers. As to the *Carthaginians*, who were most bent on a Sea-Engagement, their Naval Preparations were greater than that of the *Romans*; and as they exceeded them in the Number of their Ships, so their Army was proportionably greater, consisting of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Fighting Men. And who now could contemplate the mighty Hazard to which those two contending States were expos'd, and but hear the Account of

the Preparations of such Fleets and Armies, without Astonishment, and taking part in the Peril with which they threaten'd each other? The *Romans* had resolv'd to keep the Sea, as concluding it to be their safest Course, the *Carthaginians* having the Advantage of them in the nimbleness and ready working of their Gallies; wherefore they endeavour'd, above all things, so to draw up, and form their Fleet, that by the good Order and Disposition of their Battel, the Enemy might be the more cautious how they approach'd to attack them: which was, in a word, after this manner: The two Consuls, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*, were in the two Admiral-Gallies, in the Front of their two distinct Squadrons, each of them just a-head of their own Divisions, and a-breast of each other; the First Fleet being posted on the Right, the Second on the Left, making two long Files, or Lines of Battel; and whereas it was necessary to give a due space between each Gally, to ply their Oars, and keep clear one of another, and to have their Heads or Prows looking somewhat outwards; this manner of drawing up did therefore naturally form an Angle, the point whereof was at the two Admiral-Gallies, which were near together; and as their two Lines were prolong'd, so the distance grew consequently wider and wider towards the Rear; in this manner was the First and Second Fleet dispos'd. The Third
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Legion was drawn up Frontways, in the Rear of the First and Second, and so stretching along from Point to Point, compos'd a Triangle, whereof this Third Line was the Base. Their Vessels of Burden, that carried their Horses and Baggage were in the Rear of these, and were, by the help of small Boats provided for that purpose, towed or drawn after them. In the Rear of all was the Fourth Fleet, call'd the *Triarians*, drawn up likewise in Rank or Frontways; parallel to the Third; but these made a longer Line, by which means the Extremities stretch'd out and extended beyond the two Angles at the Base. The several Divisions of the Army, being thus dispos'd, form'd, as is said, a Triangle; the Area within was void, but the Base contain'd what we have already mention'd. In a word, the *Roman* Fleet being form'd into this Figure, was dispos'd for all that could happen; nor would it have been an easie matter to have broken them.

The *Carthaginian* Generals, in the mean time, animated their Souldiers all they could in few words, letting them know, That if they overcame the *Romans* in this Battel, the War would then be prosecuted in *Sicily* only; but if they should be beaten, they would then be driven to fight for the Preservation of their Native Country, their own Inheritance, and their Wives and Children. In short, they gave order for the speedy imbarcking
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their People, which the Souldiers chearfully obey'd, every one reflected on what their Officers had remonstrated; so they drew out of their Port, full of Hopes and Resolution. When the *Carthaginians* had observ'd how the *Roman* Army was drawn up, they then determin'd after what manner to form their Battel: Accordingly they dispos'd their Fleet into four Squadrons or Divisions, and drew it out into one long File; that part to the Right of this Line, stretch'd a great way out into the Sea, as if their Purpose had been to inclose and surround the *Romans*, their Prows pointing directly upon them; the Fourth Squadron, which was the Left of the Line, kept close under the Shoar, dispos'd in manner of a Tenail: *Hanno*, one of the Generals, he who had succeeded so ill at *Agri- gentum*, was on the Right with the First Squadron, having with him all the nimble, and best rowing Vessels of the Fleet, being such as were proper to Attack and Retreat, and for their lightness could row round the *Romans*. *Hamilcar*, the same that fought near *Tindaris*, commanded the Left-wing; who after they came to Engage, devis'd a Stratagem, which shew'd him an Officer of Experience.

The *Romans* having observ'd, that the *Carthaginians*, by stretching their Battel to so great a length, were by that means but thinly drawn up, they therefore attack'd them

in the middle of their Line, where the Battel began ; but the *Carthaginians*, pursuant to the Orders they had receiv'd, immediately retreated, with purpose to seperate and put the *Romans* in disorder to pursue them, who accordingly press'd warmly after them ; The First and Second Fleets were those who engag'd in the Pursuit of the *Carthaginians*, who feign'd to fly : Thus their Army became disjoin'd, the third Fleet remaining with the Baggage in a Tow, and the *Triarians* keeping their Post in the Rear of all. Now when the *Carthaginians* judg'd the First and Second Fleets to be sufficiently distanc'd from the rest, the Signal was given from *Hamilcar's* Gally ; whereupon that part of their Fleet which was chas'd by the *Romans* immediately tack'd, and made head against the Pursuers, who had follow'd them so eagerly ; and now the Battel increas'd and grew warm everywhere, and albeit the *Carthaginians* had the advantage in the lightness and ready working of their Vessels, whether it were to Advance or Retreat, as occasion requir'd, which they perform'd with great Promptitude and Facility ; nevertheless the *Romans* lost not their assurance of Success in the end, they found themselves better Men when they came to the Swords Point, and they had great trust in their Engines wherewith they grapp'd and boarded the Enemy ; besides the Souldiers were animated by the Presence of

the Generals, in whose Eye they Fought, and who themselves engag'd in equal Hazard with the rest,

Now *Hanno*, who commanded the Right of the Line, and was at a good distance off from the place where the Battel began, stood out farther to Sea, and attack'd the *Triarians*, where he succeeded so well, as to reduce them to the last Extremity; in the mean while, that Squadron of the *Carthaginians* that was posted on the Left, under the Shoar, rang'd themselves into a Front; and turning their Prows upon the Enemy, charg'd that part of their Fleet that had the Guard of the Baggage and Horse-ships; whereupon the *Romans* casting off the Ships which they had in a Tow receiv'd the *Carthaginians*, and fought them with great Bravery. And now might be seen, three Naval Battles fought at one and the same time, in three several Places; but forasmuch as the Parties engaging, were of equal strength, it happen'd, as for the most part it doth in the like Adventures, where two contending Powers happen to be of equal Force, that Fortune gives the Victory to that side for whom she first began to declare. So *Hamilcar*, not being able to sustain the first Shock of the *Romans*, was beaten and fled with his Squadron out of the Battel; *Lucius* towing away such of their Ships as he had taken. In the mean while, *Marcus* perceiving the great Danger the *Triarians* were in

in, and the Vessels that carried their Equipage, advanc'd up to their Relief, taking with him the Second Fleet, which remain'd yet entire; whereupon the *Triarians*, now well-nigh vanquish'd, observing with what Bravery he attack'd *Hanno*, took Heart, and renew'd the Battel; insomuch that he seeing himself now assaulted from all Quarters both in Front and Rear, and that *M. Atilius*, contrary to all expectation, was likewise come up, and join'd the Fleet, by which means they were in danger of being quite surrounded; yielded the Day to the *Romans*, and flying, got off to Sea. At the same time *Manlius*, who was now return'd from the Chace, observing that the Third Fleet of the *Romans* had been forc'd under the Shoar by the left point of the Enemies Battel, where they held them surrounded, came up to their Relief, and was seconded by *Marcus*, who had now rescu'd the *Triarians* and Baggage-vessels, and left them safe. In a word, this part of their Army was in great danger, and had been lost e'er this, if the *Carthaginians*, frighted at their new Engine, could have found Resolution to attack them, but they barely contented themselves to force them on upon the Shoar, and there to keep them beset, not daring to attempt or approach them; so great an apprehension they were under of being grappl'd by their *Corvi*. In short, the *Carthaginians* were now quickly beset by the *Romans*, who

routing them, took Fifty of their Ships with their Equipage, very few either of Souldiers or Seamen escaping. Behold now the Success of these three Battels, in all which the *Romans* were Victors. They lost but twenty four of their own Vessels, and those perish'd against the Shoar; but of the *Carthaginians*, above Thirty were destroy'd. Of the *Romans* not a Ship was taken, but of the *Carthaginians* Threescore and three.

Sometime after this Success, the *Romans* making greater Preparations than ever, and having repair'd and enquipp'd the Ships they had taken from the Enemy, and well refresh'd their Army, set Sail for *Africk*. When the Van of their Fleet had gain'd *Cape Mercury*, which is a Point of Land running out from the Gulf of *Carthage*, a good way into the Sea towards *Sicily*; they there made a Halt, and attended the Coming up of the rest of the Fleet; and when they were joyn'd, they stood along the Coast till they came up with a Place call'd *Aspis* or *Clupea*, where they made their Descent, drawing up their Vessels in the Port where they secur'd them with a Ditch and Pallisade; and finding the Inhabitants resolv'd to stand on their Defence, they prepar'd to Besiege them. In the meanwhile, those who escap'd from the Battel, bringing News home of their Misfortune, the *Carthaginians* were then in no doubt, but that, encourag'd by this Success, the *Romans* would

would quickly Land, and make the best of their March up to their City. They therefore dispatch'd Troops to oppose them and to keep Guard upon the Neighbouring Coast by Sea and Land; but when they receiv'd Advice of their being Landed, and of their Besieging *Aspis*, that care was over: Wherefore they now proceed to reinforce their Army with new Levies, which they perform'd with all possible Application, making due Provision for the Strengthening their City, and the Security of the Country. The *Romans*, in the interim, became Masters of *Aspis*, where having left a good Garrison for Defence of the Town and Country about it, and dispatch'd Messengers to *Rome* to give an Account of their Successes, and to learn the Senate's Pleasure how to proceed; they march'd farther up with their whole Army to Forage and Spoil the Country. In this Expedition they plunder'd and destroy'd a great many noble Buildings, took much Booty of all sorts of Cattel, and at least Twenty Thousand Prisoners; all which they perform'd without any Opposition, and brought all down to their Ships. And now they receiv'd the Senate's Answer by their Messengers, whose Pleasure was, That only one of the Consuls should remain in *Africk*, with a competent Strength to prosecute the War, and the other should return back to *Rome* with the rest of the Army. So *M. Atilius*

remain'd with Forty Ships, Fifteen Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse; and *L. Manlius* return'd to *Rome* with the rest of the Army, carrying with him many Prisoners; who Sailing along the Coast of *Sicily* arriv'd in safety.

The *Carthaginians* foreseeing this War was like to last, consider'd on the Choice of their Generals; and first chose two, *Hanno* the Son of *Asdrubal* and *Bostar*. Then they sent their Orders to *Hamilcar*, who was now at *Heraclea*, to return Home with all expedition: Accordingly, he taking with him Five Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse, came forthwith to *Carthage*; where, being chosen their Third General, he and *Asdrubal* fell to consult about the present posture of their Affairs; and concluded, That above all things they ought to Succour the Province, and not endure that the *Romans* should make their IncurSIONs, and such Spoil upon the Country. In the mean while *M. Atilius Regulus* proceeds, and in a short space makes a mighty Progress; all such Towns as he attack'd, that had no Walls, he carry'd at the first Assault; and such as were fortify'd he Besieg'd; and coming to *Adda*, which was a Place of Importance, he incamp'd not far from the Walls, and sat down before it. But the *Carthaginians* knowing the usefulness of that Place, and being resolv'd to defend the Country, march'd out forthwith against him; where arriving with

with their Army, they posted themselves on an Eminence, which, albeit it gave them an Advantage against the *Romans*, was nevertheless very incommodious to themselves in all Respects; for as their greatest Strength and Hopes were in their Horse and Elephants, so abandoning the plain and proper Country, and marching and inclosing themselves in rough and inaccessible Places; they pointed out as it were to the Enemy, the Methods of their own Destruction. And so in effect it prov'd, for the *Roman* Commanders, who were Men of Experience, saw well enough, that the main Strength, and most formidable Part of the *Carthaginian* Army, was render'd useless by their thus keeping the Mountains, they therefore wisely manag'd this Error of of the Enemy, and not delaying till they should be better advis'd, improv'd the Occasion; and accordingly march'd at break of Day and surrounded the Hill, where they were thus incamp'd, when now there could be nothing more useless to them than their Horse and Elephants. In this Occasion the Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* behav'd themselves gallantly, and engaging with the first Legion forc'd them to retreat; howbeit, being attack'd in the Rear by another Party, marching about the Hill, they were at length forc'd to give ground, and retire; and now being hard press'd, they forsook their Camp, with their Horse and Elephants, and gaining the

the plain Country, sav'd themselves, the *Romans* pursuing their Foot for some space; so they took their Camp, and proceeded as before to make Inroads, taking of Towns, and spoiling the Country round about, without any Impediment. Then they march'd to *Tunes*, and becoming Masters of that Place they lodg'd within the Walls, which they chose to do in regard the Situation was proper for the Purpose they had in hand, and was of all Places, the most useful to incommode and distress *Carthage* itself, and the Country round about it.

The *Carthaginians*, who had so unfortunately manag'd their Affairs both by Sea and Land, not so much thro' the Cowardise of their Armies, as the Insufficiency of their Chiefs, began now to despair: For, over and above the Calamities we have related, the *Numidians* taking the advantage of their Troubles, had made Inroads upon them and did them as much hurt as the *Romans* and in some parts of the Country under their Dominion, a great deal more. Insomuch that the People were compell'd to retire and save themselves in the City, whither they brought both Fear and Famine, a mighty Multitude of all sorts flocking at once thither.

And now *Regulus*, having weigh'd, that they had been too hard for the *Carthaginians* both by Sea and Land, and that *Carthage* itself

was not likely to be able long to hold out, admonish'd them to treat about an Accomodation; fearing least his Successor that was expected from *Rome* should (if he made not a Peace) deprive him of the Glory of putting an End to that War. The *Carthaginians*, on their part, gladly listen'd to the Proposal, and accordingly dispatch'd to *Regulus* some of their principal Citizens; who, after some time of Conference, were so far from yielding to the Propositions, that they had not Patience so much as to hear them repeated, they were so Infamous. For *Regulus*, as if he had made a compleat Conquest, would have had them esteem it as a singular Grace and Benefit, to accord them a Peace upon whatsoever Conditions he should think fit to propose: But the *Carthaginians* were of a different Mind, and reckon'd, that nothing could befall them more shameful and calamitous, than what was demanded; and that it could not be worse with them to be entirely conquer'd, and brought under the *Roman* Yoke. So they return'd, not only full of Shame to be so treated, but of Indignation at the intollerable Insolence of *Regulus*. The Senate, likewise, after they had heard the Terms of Peace repeated, which the *Romans* propos'd, withstood it with so much Courage and Greatness of Mind, that albeit they were at the brink of Despair, they determin'd rather to abide any Adversity their worst

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Fortune could bring on them, than stain the Nobility of their Name and Actions by so shameful a Treaty.

About this time, there was return'd out of *Greece*, a *Carthaginian*, who had been sent thither to raise Souldiers in those parts for the Service of the State ; who brought a considerable number of Recruits with him, and among the rest, a certain *Lacedemonian*, call'd *Xantippus*, who had been educated according to the *Spartan* Discipline, and was a Person well seen in Military Affairs ; he informing himself of the late Defeat of the *Carthaginians*, and after having been thoroughly instructed in their Strength, and the Provision they had made for the War ; their number of Horses and of their Elephants ; he concluded upon the whole Matter, and so publish'd among his Friends, That it was not the Enemy that had vanquish'd the *Carthaginians*, but the Ignorance of their Leaders. This Discourse of *Xantippus* was quickly spread among the People, and came at length to the knowledge of the Magistrates, who forthwith commanded he should be brought before them, where he reason'd the whole matter to them, and did endeavour to Demonstrate, that if by taking his Advice they would alter their manner of Fighting, and, descending from the Hills, incamp and deal with the Enemy in the Champaign Country, he assur'd them, not only of Safety, but of Victory. The Souldiers

ers who were edify'd by these Reasons, concurr'd entirely with *Xantippus*; to whom thereupon the Conduct of the Army was forthwith given; and indeed this Advice of his was no sooner understood in the Army, but they took Heart, and conceiv'd new Hopes: And as soon as they were march'd out of the Town, and disciplin'd, and form'd according to his Rules, the Abilities of this their new Leader, and the Ignorance of their former Captains became so visible, that the Army express'd their Joy by loud and general Acclamations, and a mighty Forwardness to be led against the Enemy; having conceiv'd a firm Assurance that they could not miscarry under the Conduct of *Xantippus*. In a word, the Officers observing this Change in the Minds of the Souldiers, encourag'd them with their Exhortations to behave themselves bravely; and shortly after they march'd to find the Enemy, their Forces consisting of Twelve Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, and about an Hundred Elephants. The *Romans* were a little surpris'd at the Novelty, to see their Enemy thus to change their manner of proceeding, by marching down, and incamping in the plain Country; but being assur'd of the Event, they march'd toward them with all Expedition, and incamp'd within Twelve Hundred and Fifty Paces of the *Carthaginian* Army, who the next Morning held a Council of

of War how they should proceed, while the Souldiers assembling in great numbers, and proclaiming every-where the Name of *Xantippus*, demanded with great earnestness to be led against the Enemy. The Officers observing this their Willingness, and being urg'd and conjur'd by *Xantippus* not to let this their Ardour cool without Action, the Army was directed to prepare for the Battel, and the Order and Manner of their drawing up intirely committed to *Xantippus*; who proceeded after this manner: He drew up all the Elephants in Front, advanc'd some distance beyond the Line of Battel: In the Rear of these, at a good distance, he appointed the *Carthaginian* Battalions; in the Right Wing was dispos'd part of the Mercenaries, and some chosen out of them were mix'd with the Horse advanc'd before the two points of the Battel. The *Romans*, seeing the Enemy now ranging into Battalia, lost no time, but readily advanc'd against them with their usual Courage: Nevertheless, in regard they had a just Apprehension of the Force of their Elephants, they appointed their light arm'd Souldiers to march advanc'd in the Front of their Battel; and to sustain them, were plac'd good Troops in firm and close order. Their Horse were drawn up on the Wings, not extending in length so far as their manner usually was, which was recompens'd by the addition of Depth, whereby they justly computed,

ted, that they should be the better able to sustain the shock of the Elephants; but they were entirely in the wrong touching their Horse; those of the Enemy much outnumbering them: In short, both Armies being drawn up, according to the Design of their respective Leaders, they remain'd some time in suspense, attending the Signal to ingage.

And now *Xantippus* commanded the Guides of the Elephants to advance, and attempt the breaking of the *Romans* Order, and to the Cavalry (which out-wing'd them) to surround and attack them in the Flank: And the *Romans*, after clashing their Arms, and giving a Shout, as their manner is, began the Battel; but their Horse perceiving themselves outnumbered by those of the Enemy, soon abandon'd their Post in the Wings, and the Foot in the Left-point of their Battel, partly out of fear of the Elephants, and partly beleiving they should find less to do against the Mercenaries, attack'd them on the Right, and put them to flight, pursuing them to their Retrenchments. But it far'd otherwise with those who were oppos'd to the Elephants, they being disorder'd by those Animals, broken, kill'd, and trodden under foot: True it is, that the Body of that Battalian, by reason of its great depth and firm order, was not presently shaken; but when the Rear, which yet sustain'd them, perceiv'd the Enemies Horse in their

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Flank, and that they were in danger to be surrounded, they were forc'd to face about to receive them. On the other hand, such of the *Roman Army* as had charg'd through the Elephants, were no sooner escap'd that danger, but they encounter'd with the Battalion of *Carthaginians*, fresh, and in good order, who charging them, cut them all off. And now the *Romans* being attack'd and worsted on all sides, many were destroy'd by the rage and force of those mighty Animals, the Elephants; many were kill'd on the spot by the Cavalry, and very few attempted to fly; those who did, were most of them, by reason it was an open Country, slain by the Horse and the Elephants. Five hundred who follow'd *Regulus* in his flight, fell with him alive into the Enemies Hands. Of the *Carthaginians* were kill'd about Eight Hundred; most of them Mercenaries, who were oppos'd to the Left Wing of the *Romans*, whose Army there did not escape above Two Thousand, and those were of the Party that broke and pursu'd the *Carthaginians*, when the Battel first began, as was observ'd; the rest were all slain, saving the Consul *M. Atilius Regulus*, and those taken with him; and the *Cohorts* that remain'd, escap'd as by Miracle to *Aspis*. As for the *Carthaginians*, soon as they had pillag'd the Dead, they march'd back to their City full of Glory and Triumph, leading the Consul with them.

mong the rest of the Prisoners. Certainly, whosoever weighs with Judgment, the Success of this Adventure, may collect matter of much benefit for reforming the Errors of Mankind. For what is more easie to determine in this case of *Regulus*, than that the flatteries of Fortune are of all others the most vain and truffleless; and we may behold him, who but Yesterday was triumphing in the Pride of his Success, refusing the Compassion due to a miserable People, to Day seeing himself a Captive, and in a state to implore that Grace which he refus'd them. In short, the Event of this Action confirms that excellent saying of *Euripides*, *That one wise Head is more worth than many strong Hands*. For it is manifest in the Case now before us, that the Counsel and Abilities of one single Person subdu'd the *Roman* Legions, who by their Experience and Bravery were esteem'd Invincible, rescu'd a sinking and despairing Commonwealth, and restor'd Courage to a beaten and spiritless Army, grown stupid by their Misfortunes. Let it not therefore be thought superfluous, that we add these our Reflections, while those who shall read what we have written, may chance to be edify'd, and improve their Minds in that laudable Vertue of Moderation; for as there are two ways to correct Men's Manners; namely, by their own Misfortunes, and the Example of those of others; so, tho' the one be more sensible, the

other is more safe. It is therefore the wisest way, by shunning the Perils and Difficulties of the one when without toil or hazard we may safely contemplate the other, and take out Lessons for our Instruction at other Men's Experience. So that, in sum, it will be found, that there is no Doctrine or Method more likely to improve us in the Conduct of our Life than the Experience we may extract from the Study of History, which fairly and candidly reports to us, the Transactions of Times past; for by this means alone it is that we attain Wisdom and Experience for the bare asking, which at all Times, and in all Events, will be found most preferable: but so much by way of Reflection.

The *Carthaginians*, whose Affairs had prosper'd to their Wish, express'd their Joy with all possible Piety towards the Gods, and mutual Congratulations and Festivals among themselves. As to *Xantippus*, who had so happy a share in the Advancement and Prosperity of their Affairs, he shortly after (an admirable Example of great Judgment and Wisdom) took his Leave, and departed from *Carthage*, foreseeing, as it were, that the Service he had done them, being a Stranger, as it was too great for a Reward, so it would soon contract him both Envy and Danger, which a Native, by the Power of Interest, Relations, and Friendship would be better able to avoid, while another would stand

expos'd to Ruine. There are Authors who render a different Account of *Xantippus's* Departure, whereof mention shall be made in a fitter place. And now the *Romans* having receiv'd an account of the posture of their Affairs in *Africk*, so contrary to their Expectations, apply'd themselves with all diligence to the repairing and equipping their Fleet; and to rescue out of danger those who had escap'd from the Battel; while the *Carthaginians* did their utmost to reduce them, and get them into their Power; to which End they march'd to *Aspis*, and besieg'd it; but the Garrison made so brave and obstinate a Defence, that after the Enemy had attempted their utmost to gain it, they were forc'd to raise the Siege. When the *Carthaginians* had receiv'd Advice that the *Romans* were fitting out a fresh Fleet to attack them again, they apply'd themselves to the refitting such of their Vessels as were out of Repair, and to build new ones to re-inforce their Navy; and having equipp'd, and got together in a few days, a Fleet of about Two Hundred Sail, they resolv'd to put to Sea, and attempt to prevent the Enemies Descent. In the meantime, the *Romans* had made ready, early in the Spring, a Fleet of Three Hundred and Fifty Sail; and embarking their Army under the Command of their new Consuls, *M. Æmilius*, and *Servius Fulvius*, and standing along the Coast of *Sicily* towards *Africa*, they

met and fought off of *Cape Mercury* with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which was not able to sustain the first shock, but being entirely beaten, lost in the Engagement, an Hundred and Fourteen of their Vessels, and all that was in them, to the *Romans*; who afterwards prosecuting their Course, arriv'd at *Aspis*; where taking their Men on Board that remain'd in *Africa*, they shap'd their Course back to *Sicily*. And being well advanc'd on their way, they were surpriz'd off of *Gamari-na* with so dreadful a Tempest, that the Losses and Hardships they sustain'd were without Example, and beyond Expression: So terrible it was, that of Three Hundred and Seventy odd Vessels that compos'd their Fleet, Four-score only escap'd Shipwreck, the rest being either founde'r'd in the Sea, or were lost and broken against the Rocks, that whole Coast being cover'd with dead Bodies, and strew'd with the Ruines and Fragments of their Ships, insomuch as History affords no Example of the like dreadful Disaster. And yet it may be said, that this Calamity was not owing so much to Fortune, as to the Obstinacy of the Consuls: For the Pilots endeavour'd to obviate the Hazard they should be expos'd to by Navigating on that Coast of *Sicily*, which borders on the *African* Sea, there being there not only no Harbours to succour Vessels in distress; but the Season too of the Year was now improper; for by Observation of the rising

sing and setting of *Orion* and the *Dog-Star*, they compute and know the safe Seasons for Navigation. But the Consuls, contemning their Counsel, stood boldly out to Sea, in hopes that after this signal Victory, their appearing suddenly on the Coast, might terrify many Towns, and awe them to Submission: But their Folly was chastis'd by this memorable Loss, which they sustain'd upon a Motive much too little for the Hazard. The *Romans* have indeed this inflexibility of Mind peculiar to them, believing that whatsoever they have resolv'd and determin'd to undertake, ought to be indispensably perform'd; and they have establish'd it into a Principle, That what they once had decreed to execute, cannot be impossible to bring to pass: The Effect, indeed of a generous Obstinacy, but the Cause oftentimes of their falling into pernicious Errors and Misfortunes, and their sustaining unspeakable Losses, especially in their Naval-Expeditions. As to their Exploits by Land, where the Encounter is only Man to Man, their Courage frequently conducts them to the Success they propose, by reason their Adventures are with Men like themselves; and yet there want not Examples wherein their Measures and Forces have fail'd, and they have sink and miscarry'd under the weight of their Enterprises. But whenever, by a temerarious Audacity, they act against these raging Elements, and attempt to vanquish

the Sea and Wind, they are sure to reap no other Fruit of their Obstinacy, than Loss and Calamity. This we have now mention'd is an Instance, and they have heretofore smarted by the like Errors; and they shall always stand liable to the same Disasters, till they appear better advis'd and instructed in the Weakness of that overweaning Presumption, which they are apt to entertain in all their Designs, vainly imagining, that both Sea and Land should on all occasions consent and open their way to Success in all their Enterprises.

The *Carthaginians*, upon Advice of this Misfortune of the *Romans* at Sea, were of Opinion, That they should now be a Match for them by Land, whereunto they were perswaded through the late Victory they had gain'd. That they should be equal to them likewise by Sea, they had no doubt, by reason of their late great Loss by Tempest; howbeit, they omitted not to re-inforce their Strength both by Sea and Land. They dispatch'd *Asdrubal* into *Sicily*, to whom, besides the Forces already there, they order'd a farther Supply of Troops out of those that were lately drawn out of *Heraclea*, together with an Hundred and Forty Elephants: He was no sooner departed, but they sent after him Two Hundred Vessels laden with all things necessary for the Service of the War. *Asdrubal*, being safely arriv'd at *Lilybæum*,
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apply'd himself with diligence to Exercise and Discipline his Troops and Elephants, intending to spread his Arms all over the Country, and to make himself entire Master of the Field. As for the *Romans*, they were not without a very sensible Sorrow, when by those who had escap'd Shipwreck, they receiv'd an Account of the mighty Loss they had sustain'd at Sea; nevertheless, being determin'd not to yield the Advantage to the Enemy, they order'd a new Fleet to be speedily built, to consist of Two Hundred and Twenty Sail; which Fleet (a wonderful and incredible thing to relate) was compleatly built and finish'd in the space of three Months; on which the new Consuls, *Aulus Atilius*, and *C. Cornelius*, speedily embark'd; who, after having pass'd the *Streight*, and touch'd at *Messina*, to take with them the Vessels that had been sav'd in the late Storm, shap'd their Course for *Palermo* with a Naval-Army consisting of three Hundred Sail, and forthwith sat down and besieg'd that place, which then was the Capital City of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. They made their Attacks in two several places, and when their Works were advanc'd to their Minds, they approach'd with their Engines of Battery, by which, a Tower or Work standing near the Sea, was quickly, and without much trouble, demolish'd; at which Breach the Souldiers enter'd,

ter'd, and took by Assault, and kept Possession of that Quarter of the City call'd the *New Town*, whereby the place itself was put into manifest danger; but the Inhabitants coming seasonably in to the Relief, they advanc'd no farther; so the Consuls, after they had put a good Garrison into the place they had taken, return'd back to *Rome*. Early the next Summer the new Consuls, *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, sail'd over to *Sicily* with all their Naval Power, and from thence, soon after, stood for the Coast of *Africa*, where they made several Descents, but perform'd nothing of moment; at length arriving at the Island of the *Latophagy*, which is likewise call'd *Meninx*, not far distant from the *Lesser Syrtis*, or *Flats*; here, being unacquainted with the Coast, their Fleet fell among the Sands, where their Vessels grounded, and stuck fast, as if they had been a-shoar, and there remain'd till the Flood fetch'd them off; when with great difficulty and hazard, throwing their Lumber over-board, they made a shift to escape. From thence, like People flying from an Enemy, they stood away for the Coast of *Sicily*; and after they had doubl'd the Cape of *Lilybaeum* they got into the Port of *Palermo*. But from thence, steering their Course homeward, a Storm took them in the *Phaere* of *Messina*, where, by a blind Obstinacy, they were imbay'd; which Storm attack'd them with

with such violence, that above an Hundred and Fifty of their Ships miscarry'd. Things happening thus adverse to them by Sea, tho' the Senate and People could not subdue their Thirst of Glory and Empire, nevertheless these Losses and Calamities, and the Straits to which they were now reduc'd, prevail'd with them to quit all farther Attempts of trying their Fortune by Sea; so they now totally abandon'd all thoughts of Naval Preparations. And determining to rely solely on their Land Armies, they dispatch'd the Consuls, *L. Caelius*, and *Cn. Furius* to *Sicily* with the Legions, aloting them only about Threescore Vessels whereon securely to embark and waft over the Army, their Baggage and Ammunition. These Misfortunes of the *Romans* much augmented the *Carthaginian* Glory and Fame in the World, and gave a new face to their Affairs. In a word, as the *Romans* had now yielded them up the Dominion of the Sea, it was no difficulty for them to be entirely Masters there; nor were they without hopes of succeeding in their Affairs by Land; nor did they reckon very wide of the matter, for from the time of the Defeat of the *Roman* Army, by the Assistance of the Elephants, which discompos'd and broke their Ranks in the Battel fought in *Africk*, where those Animals made such Destruction of their People, the Soldiers became so terribly aw'd, that tho' they had been on several

occasions drawn up in Battalia to ingage within five or six Furlongs of the *Carthaginian* Army; sometimes in the Territory of *Selinunte*, sometimes about *Lilybaeum*, yet for the space of Two Years together they wanted Resolution to ingage them, or to adventure to abide in the Champain Country, so great a Dread they had conceiv'd of the Fury and Shock of those stupendous Beasts: So that little or no Progress was made in their Affairs during all that space, saving the taking of *Lipary* and *Thermes*, the Army continuing coop'd up in the Mountains, and inaccessible Places. Wherefore the *Romans*, observing this Terror among their Legions, took a Resolution once more, to tempt their Fortune by Sea: Accordingly upon the Creation of *C. Atelius*, and *L. Manlius* Consuls, they order'd the Building of Fifty Vessels, and Levies of Men for that Service; and now they had a Navy once again establish'd.

Asdrubal having observ'd this Dread that possess'd the *Roman* Army, when ever he presented them Battel, and having Intelligence that one of the Consuls was now return'd back to *Rome*, and one half of the Army with him; and that *Cacilius* with the rest of the Troops was at *Palermo*, assisting their Allies in gathering their Harvest, their Corn being now ripe; he march'd out of *Lilybaeum* with his Troops, and came and encamp'd on the Borders of the Territory of *Palermo*. *Cacilius*

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Cecilus observing this weak Proceeding of the *Carthaginian*, kept his People within the Walls of the Town, thereby to ingage him to Advance nearer; which *Asdrubal* accordingly did, perswaded thereto by the shew of Fear the *Romans* were under, and imagining that *Cecilus* had not Resolution to appear in the Field, he rashly adventur'd his Army into a narrow Straight; and albeit he wasted the Country to the very Walls of *Palermo*, *Cecilus* nevertheless held his first Determination, not to move till the Enemy had pass'd the River that runs close by the Town. When, in short, after the Elephants and the whole Army had got over, he order'd some of his light arm'd Souldiers, to advance out against them to Pickeer, and draw them the more boldly on. And observing all things to succeed as he had projected, he posted a Body of select and skilful Soldiers on the Counterscarp of the Town, with Orders, that if the Elephants advanc'd upon them, to Attack them with Darts and missive Weapons, and in case they should be press'd by those Animals, that they should then retire into the Ditch; and from thence gall and molest them all they could. He order'd the Towns People at the same time to furnish themselves with great quantities of Darts, and post themselves without the Town at the Foot of the Walls, and there abide in a Posture of Defence. *Cecilus* himself with
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all his Troops remain'd in readiness at a certain Gate of the Town, that was oppos'd to the Right Wing of the Enemy, from whence he sustain'd the Troops with fresh Supplies of Men, who were already engaged. In a word, the Battel began now to grow warm, and the Leaders of the Elephants being resolv'd to be Sharers with *Asdrubal* in the Honour of the Day, proceeding as if they design'd the Victory should be wholly owing to them, advanc'd all in order upon the *Romans*, whom they soon forc'd to give Ground and retire into the Ditch. But now the Elephants smarting with the Wounds they had receiv'd, and vex'd with the Darts wherewith they were gall'd both from the Ditch and the Walls of the Town, began to grow unruly, fell upon their own People, and destroy'd many, and put their Troops in disorder. This being observ'd by *Cacilius*, he forthwith sally'd out with his Troops fresh and in good order, and attacking the Enemy in Flank, who were already in Confusion, slew many, and put the rest of the Army to flight. Ten Elephants were then taken with the *Indians* their Guides, and others who had lost their Leaders fell likewise into their Hands after the Battel. The happy Issue of this Action gave *Cacilius* the Reputation every-where of having restor'd the *Roman* Courage by Land, to attempt incamping in the open and plain Country, and to know how to behave themselves

selves well again out of their Retrenchments. There was great Joy at *Rome* on the arrival of the News of this Defeat, not so much on account of the Elephants which had been taken, tho' it was a very sensible Blow to the Enemy, but because the taking of those Animals, and the Victory obtain'd against them, had restor'd the Soldiers Resolution. Wherefore they determin'd once again, as had been propos'd (to the end they might at any rate put a Period to this War) to dispatch the Consuls away with a new Navy. And when all things were in readiness for the Expedition, they departed for *Sicily* with a Fleet of Two Hundred Sail, it being now the Fourteenth Year of the first *Punic War*: And being arriv'd on the Coast of *Lilybaeum*, and their Troops already in *Sicily* being assembled thereabout, they resolv'd to sit down before that City; concluding, that the possession of such a Post, would greatly facilitate the transporting the War into *Africk*. The *Carthaginians* were of the same Opinion with the *Romans* in that Point, they therefore Postponing all other matters for the present, employ'd their utmost Counsels and Endeavours to succour and secure that Place, leaving nothing undone whereby to compass it. Foreseeing, that should it once fall into the Enemies Hands, the Island being now entirely theirs, *Depranum* only excepted, the *Carthaginians* would be without any Stake or Footing,

ing, whereby to sustain or carry on the War. But that I may not talk obscurely to those who are not acquainted with the Geography of *Sicily*, I will here endeavour first to give some light into the Situation of that Island: The whole Island of *Sicily* is situate, with respect to the extream Parts of *Italy*, in a manner as *Peloponnesus* is to *Greece*, and the Frontiers thereof; with this difference only, that this latter is a *Peninsula*. In brief, one may arrive at *Peloponnesus* by Land by means of the *Isthmus*, but to *Sicily* we cannot go but by Sea. *Sicily* bears the form of a Triangle, at each Corner whereof is a certain Cape or Promontory: That which looks Southward, and runs out into the Sea of *Sicily*, is call'd Cape *Pachine*: That which regards the North, is call'd *Pelorus*, where the Sea is almost shut out, the Island being there not above Fifteen Hundred Paces distant from the Continent: The third Cape, which looks toward *Africa*, is call'd the Cape of *Lilybæum*. This Island is commodiously situate, to Navigate from any of these Head-lands to *Carthage*, which hath been already noted; being distant about an Hundred and Twenty Five Miles; the Wester-most Coast, winds somewhat with a Compass, and parts the *African* and *Sardinian* Seas. There is a City near this foremention'd Cape, bearing likewise the same Name, being that which we have already mention'd, which the *Romans* besieg'd; it was begirt with

a strong Wall, and inviron'd with a good Ditch, which was fill'd with Water from the Sea, from whence likewise one might go to the Haven, which was extream difficult of access; unless to such, who by long Practice were perfectly acquainted with the way. This Town then the *Romans* besieg'd, making their Attacks in two several places, investing it with their two Camps, which held Communication by means of a Retrenchment, fortify'd with a Ditch, a Rampart, and a Wall. They made their first Approaches against a Tower, or Work, standing by the Sea-side, which looks towards *Africk*, and by their Diligence and incessant Application, adding something every Day, they soon demolish'd that and Six other Towers standing near it, and then they made way to approach with their Ram to batter the other Works. And having now demolish'd a great part of the Wall, and many of their Towers being shaken, and some laid level with the Ground, the Besieg'd began to be hard press'd, the Enemy having made a Lodgment even within their Works. Insomuch, that tho' they had a Garrison in the Town of Ten Thousand Men, Besides the Inhabitants, they could not conceal the Terrour they were under. Nevertheless, *Hamilcar* the Governour, perform'd the part of a Diligent and Able Officer, by Fortyfying and Rebuilding such Works as the Enemy had demolish'd, by

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making Countermines where it was found needful; and, in a word, by endeavouring to find Work enough for the Besiegers, wherever they press'd him. His Diligence was such, as it might be said, He was present every-where; he was watchful of all Occasions of molesting the Enemy, sometimes by burning their Engines; sometimes, to the end to divert them Day and Night, he would make hazardous Sallies; insomuch, that it might be said, They lost more Men, than if they had fought rang'd Battles in the Field.

While Affairs stood in this Posture, a piece of Treachery was discover'd: Certain Officers, of a principal Rank among the Mercenaries, who serv'd in the Town, confiding in the Soldiers readiness to follow them, conspir'd to deliver up the Place; and by Night, went over to the *Roman* Camp, to Negotiate their Purpose with the Consul; but it happen'd, that a certain *Achaian*, *Alexo* by Name, one who had done the like grateful piece of Service in the Preservation of *Agrirentum*, which the Mercenaries would have likewise betray'd to the *Syracusians*, discover'd this Conspiracy to *Hamilcar*, who immediately thereupon, assembled the Commanders of those Mercenaries that remain'd in the Town, to whom he imparted the Treason, conjuring them with Promises of great Rewards and Preferments to preserve their Fidelity, and not to be Partakers in the Vil-

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lany, wherein those who were now absent were engag'd. Whereupon, having frankly assur'd him of their Faith, he dispatch'd them to deal likewise with their Soldiers. He likewise employ'd *Hannibal* to the *Gauls*, whom they both knew and lov'd, having serv'd among them; observing by the way, that this *Hannibal* was Son of Him of the same Name who was murder'd in *Sardinia*. He likewise sent *Alexo* to the other Foreigners who was in great Esteem among them, and in whom they had great Confidence. In short, the Persons thus employ'd, having summon'd the several Nations with which they were to Treat, and Exhorting and Conjuring them to continue firm in their Obedience, and promising them ample Rewards from their General; they were easily won to give them sincere assurances of their Faith; insomuch, that when their Agents were return'd from the *Roman* Camp to render an Account of their Negotiation, they were so far from consenting or listening to them, that they drove them away with Darts and Stones. Thus by the Infidelity of their Mercenaries, the *Carthaginians* had been reduc'd to great Straits, and their Enterprises defeated, had not *Alexo*, who had already by his singular Virtue preserv'd *Agrigentum*, both the Town and Country, their Laws and Liberties, perform'd now the like eminent piece of Service for them, in detecting so dangerous a Conspiracy.

Altho' at *Carthage* they were yet without any account of the Pressure of *Lilybaeum*, they were not nevertheless unmindful of the Necessities they concluded they must needs be in, who had undergone so long and strait a Siege. They therefore decreed them a Supply of as many Soldiers as could be carry'd in Fifty Vessels, who were dispatch'd under the Command of *Hannibal*, the Son of *Hamilcar*, and *Adherbal*'s intimate Friend ; who, after he had been exhorted to govern and comport himself as their Affairs upon the place should counsel him, he was forthwith dispatch'd with Instructions however to attempt speedily, by all ways possible, to succour the Town. *Hannibal* being now departed with a Supply of Ten Thousand Men, and arriving safely at the Isles of *Aegusa*, which lie in the way between *Carthage* and *Lilybaeum* ; he there attended a fair Wind, to waft him to his Port, which no sooner presented, but he put to Sea, and came with a flown Sheet before the Mouth of the Harbour, ordering his Soldiers to be rang'd in a fighting Posture on the Decks of his Vessels. In the mean while, the *Roman* Fleet, surpris'd at this unlook'd for arrival of the *Cathaginians*, and fearing, if they should attempt to hinder them, they might be forc'd into the Port, together with the Enemy, by the violence of the Wind, they therefore thought it adviseable not to attack them : So they kept their Station, having a
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good Offin, and contented themselves to abide there, and wonder at this hardy Attempt of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean while, the Garrison being drawn together upon the Walls of the Town, stood expecting, with great Anxiety, the Success of the Adventure, and greatly encourag'd at the arrival of this Succour, did, by their Cries and Acclamations, much animate their approaching Friends. Thus *Hannibal*, by an intrepid Assurance, compass'd his Design, getting safe into the Haven, where he speedily landed his Soldiers. The Town express'd great Joy by this Reinforcement of their Garrison; and tho' the Succour was great in effect, and much comforted and encourag'd them, howbeit they were less affected with the pleasure of their Relief, than to behold the *Romans* tamely consenting to their Passage, without daring to oppose them. And now *Hamilcar* the Governour, observing the general Joy upon this their increase of Strength, and weighing farther, that they had not yet felt any extraordinary Hardships incident to a Town straiten'd by a Siege; wisely resolv'd not to permit the Inclination he observ'd in the Soldiers, to attempt something upon the Enemy, to cool without Exercise; he resolv'd therefore, that their first business should be to attack and burn the *Roman* Engines, while this warm Fit lasted; accordingly he assembled the Garrison and Townsmen, and increas'd this their

Ardour by his Exhortations, which were suited to the present occasion ; promising magnificent Rewards to such as should signalize themselves in the Action ; and farther assur'd them of grateful Largeſſes from the Republick. And now all, as it were with one Voice, expreſſing their Willingneſs to ingage, he diſmiſt them to take their Repoſe ; letting them know, that this Chearfulneſs of theirs greatly pleas'd him, directing them carefully to obey their Leaders. Then he aſſembled his Officers, diſtributing their ſeveral Poſts, and diſtinguiſhing them according to their Talents ; ſome to ſuccour and ſuſtain, others to attack ; giving the Word, and aſſigning the time when they ſhould Sally, and directing that all things ſhould be in a readineſs at the ſeveral Poſts by break of Day : Theſe Orders being punctually obſerv'd, as ſoon as they could ſee to march, *Hamilcar* order'd them to ſally out and attack the Machines in ſeveral places at once. The *Romans*, who were well aware of what might happen, were not on their ſide to ſeek, being prepar'd for the utmoſt that could befall them ; wherefore, with great readineſs they advanc'd againſt the Enemy, reſiſting and diſputing with a Courage worthy of the *Roman* Name ; till at length, the acceſs of freſh Supplies, as occaſion preſs'd, it came to paſs, that their whole Strength on both ſides became ingag'd, and a Battel was fought under the Walls of the

the Town ; for there sallied out of the Gar-
rison no less than Two and Twenty Thou-
sand Men, while those of the *Romans* much
exceeded that number. But forasmuch as
this Conflict was manag'd without any Or-
der or formal drawing up, every Party en-
gaging after their own Humour, the Action
became by that means much more violent ;
for, in short, tho' the two Bodies that fought
were numerous, yet the Ingagement was a
kind of Combat Man to Man, but the heat
of the Conflict was about the Engines ; for
those who were appointed to attack and de-
fend, obey'd their Orders with such Gallan-
try on both sides, that the Emulation became
very bloody, neither Party giving place to the
other, but obstinately dying on the spot where
they were posted. In the mean while, those
of the *Carthaginians* who brought Fire and
combustible Matter wherewith to destroy
the Engines, perform'd their part with so
much Resolution, that the *Romans* despair-
ing longer to sustain the Attack, were giving
all for lost, when *Hamilcar* seeing many of
his People slain, and observing that they were
not yet Masters of the Enemies Works, which
was a principal part of his Design ; he order'd
to sound a Retreat ; so that the *Romans*, who
were on the point of losing both their Ma-
chines and their whole Equipage of War,
having in the end preserv'd their Works,
preserv'd in effect all, and might be said, in

some sort, to have had the better of the Day. After this *Hannibal* passing in the Night by the Enemies Camp, went to *Drepanum*, there to Consult with *Adherbal*, who Commanded in that Place for the *Carthaginians*. This Town having a commodious Port, and being within Fifteen Miles of *Lilybaeum*, was of that Consequence, that they thought it imported them to keep it by any means in their Possession. In the mean while, those of *Drepanum* having been some time without any Intelligence from *Lilybaeum*, and having an anxious Desire to know the state of their Condition; all Correspondence by Land being cut off through the straitness of the Siege, and the vigilance of the Enemy; a certain *Rhodian* call'd *Hannibal*, a Man of Condition among them, undertook to get into *Lilybaeum* by Sea, and so bring them Intelligence how their Affairs stood. This Undertaking was very well receiv'd, but every body despair'd of the Success of the Enterprize, in regard the *Roman* Fleet rid at Anchor, and kept a Guard at the Haven's Mouth, on the very Spot by which he was to pass. Nevertheless, the *Rhodian*, with a Vessel of his own, prepar'd for his Voyage, and going off to Sea, got under covert of one of those Islands that lie opposite to *Lilybaeum*, and the next Morning with a fair Wind, and a fresh Gale, he stands away for the Port; and passing in view of the Enemy, got, by

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Ten a Clock, safely in, to their great Astonishment and Surprize, at the boldness of the Attempt; and the next Day he prepar'd for his Return. In the mean while the Consul gave strict Orders to have a more careful Eye on the Entrance of the Port on all sides; and directed, that by Night their nimblest Vessels should be appointed to be on the Guard, while himself with his Land-forces attended on the Shoar. So the Vessels were posted on both sides, and plac'd as near the Shoar as the Shallows would permit, having their Oars a-peike (as the Term is) like so many Wings display'd, ready for flight after the Quarry they expected. But the *Rhodian* relying on his Knowledge, and the Lightness of his Vessel, pass'd in open Day through all those Guards of the Enemy that awaited him; nor did he only escape without Hazard of himself, and those that were with him, but in a kind of Mockery and Contempt of the Enemy, he would often lie upon his Oars, and then take a turn and row quite round them, as it were to provoke them to Fight. In short, *Hannibal* happily executed his Enterprize, and found plainly, that by the excellent make of his Gally, the *Romans* despair'd to deal with him, and beheld himself as it were Triumphant over their whole Fleet. He frequently after pass'd and repass'd, whereby he perform'd great Service to the *Carthaginians*, by bringing Advice,

vice, and carrying their Orders, to the great Encouragement of the Besieg'd, and the Amazement of the *Romans* at so successful a Temerity. But we are to consider the Incouragement he had for so adventurous an Undertaking, namely, his perfect Knowledge of the Passage and Channel that was to conduct him over the Flats or Shallows; moreover, his use was, that whensoever he was discover'd at Sea, he would work his Vessel in such manner as if he had steer'd his course from *Italy*, and then bring a certain Tower that stood nearest the Sea, right ahead; that Tower cover'd him from the sight of the other Towers which respected the Coast of *Africk*; and by that very means alone it was, that Vessels coming with a frank Gale under the covert of that Tower gain'd a safe Passage. The lucky Hardiness of the *Rhodian*, gave Incouragement to others, who were well acquainted with the Place, to attempt the like; which being found of very ill Consequence to the *Romans*, they resolv'd upon blocking and choaking the Mouth of the Port intirely up, but found it a Work of mighty difficulty, not being able to fix the the Matter that was brought for that purpose, so as to hinder the Stream from removing and carrying it away: insomuch, that they labour'd long at this Work without effect: Nevertheless, this Rubbish, which by mighty labour they had brought together,
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chanc'd on a place at length wherein to settle, and there begat a new Bank or Shallow, whereon a certain *Carthaginian* Gally, attempting to get out in the Night-time ran aground, and so fell into the Enemies Hands. The *Romans*, being Masters of the Vessel, equipp'd her, and Manning her with chosen Souldiers, and their best Rowers, plac'd her on the Guard, to have an Eye on those Vessels that went in and out of the Port, and to have a special Watch upon the *Rhodian*, who getting into the Haven in the Night by his usual Address, was returning out in broad Day. But when he perceiv'd the working of this new Vessel, that she pursu'd him turning and bording lightly after him according to his own manner, for she happen'd to be a Gally of a singular Built; he became much surpriz'd, and thought it his best course to trust now to the lightness of his Vessel, and make the best of his way from them; but finding himself now in the Snare, and no other way left but Fighting, he resolutely determin'd to Ingage them; but the *Romans* out-numbring them, and being all chosen Men, soon determin'd the Dispute: So that now being Masters likewise of this excellent Vessel, they Mann'd her, and furnish'd her with all things necessary, after which there were no more Attempts to go in and out of the Port of *Lilybaeum*.

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When the *Carthaginians* had spent much time, and had, with great Industry and Travel, repair'd the Ruines, and rebuilt and fortify'd the Breaches made in their Walls; and when they had given over all hopes of destroying the Enemies Works, there happen'd a great Storm of Wind to arise, which blew with that violence on the *Romans*, that it brake and render'd useles their Machines and Engines with which they shot into the Town; and even overturn'd some of their Towers, whereupon certain Greek Soldiers took Assurance to believe it would not be very hard to prosecute what the Tempest had already done, in a good degree, to their hands, and imparted their Project to the Governour, who approving the Proposition, forthwith made provision of all things necessary to put it in execution; accordingly they sally'd out, and applying Fire in three several places to the *Roman* Machines, the Wind and the dryness of the Materials (their Works having been long built) soon set all in a flame; insomuch, that the *Romans* found it impossible to stop its Progress, or apply any present Remedy, such was their Fright and Surprise. Furthermore, it being in the Night, the Smoak and Fire, which by force of the Wind were driven in their Faces, greatly annoy'd them, as did the fall of their Engines and Works; which destroy'd many e'er they could approach near enough to extinguish the

the Flame; besides, the Wind, which molested the *Romans* in this Conflict, much assisted the *Carthaginians*, carrying their Darts and Weapons farther, and with more certainty, and the Fire they shot into their Works was convey'd with greater violence, and took effect at a farther distance; every Object was likewise more visible to them, whereby they were enabled to gall and molest the Enemy with greater advantage, all which conduc'd very much to their Success in the Enterprize. In conclusion, the *Roman* Works were in this Action so much damnify'd, that their Rams and Towers were of no use, inso-much that they utterly despair'd of taking *Lilybaeum* by force. They therefore inclos'd it round with a Rampire, environ'd with a Ditch, and fortifying their Camp with good Retrenchments, expected from Time and Patience, what they could not compass by Force: On the other hand, the Besieg'd having well repair'd the Walls where they had been batter'd, and Breaches had been made, gave evidence of fresh Courage, resolving to suffer generously all the Incommodities of a Siege.

When Advice came to *Rome*, that a great number both of Sea and Land-forces had been lost in Defence of their Works and Engines, and in the other Services of the Siege; the Youth of the City thereupon chearfully listed themselves, with resolution to revenge
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the Cause of their Country. So an Army was levy'd, consisting of Ten Thousand Men, and dispatch'd over into *Sicily*; upon whose arrival at the Camp, *Pub. Claudius* assembling the Tribunes, made them an Oration touching his Purpose to surprise *Drepanum* with their Naval-forces, remonstrating, that *Adherbal*, the Governour of that Place, and Commander of the *Carthaginians*, was not of sufficient present Strength to resist them; that he dream'd of no approaching Danger, knowing nothing of the Re-inforcement of the *Roman* Army; and that after the Losses sustained in the Siege, he would not be perswaded they could be Masters of a Naval Army. In short, the Design being generally approv'd, the Seamen, old and new Comers, were forthwith order'd to Embark; and out of the Legions, the choicest, best known, and willingest Men, were pick'd to Embark in this Expedition; which they concluded would be but short, and the Profit they should reap being as it were certain. Orders being now accordingly given, and obey'd, without giving the least Jealousie to the Enemy, the Army departed about Midnight, the Men stowing close and mingling promiscuously a-board, keeping the Coast on their Right-hand. As soon as Day broke, and the headmost of the Fleet were descry'd from *Drepanum*, *Adherbal* became much surpris'd at this unlook'd for Danger, but soon

soon recollecting his Mind, and beholding the Enemy now at hand, he determin'd to perform all that was possible for him to execute, and ingage in any Hazard, rather than endure a Siege, which by the Preparations he saw threatned him. He therefore assembled all the Seamen and Souldiers belonging to the Fleet upon the Shoar, and order'd, by sound of Trumpet, the Mercenary Troops to march out of the Town and joyn them; with whom being now assembled, he declar'd to them in few words, That he was well assur'd they should be too hard for the *Romans*, if they would resolve to oppose them resolutely: On the contrary, if they, through Fear, behav'd themselves Ill, the Consequence would be to endure all the Sufferings and Calamities incident to a Siege. Hereupon the Army unanimously declar'd their forwardness to Engage, and requir'd with one Voice to be led forthwith a-board. *Adherbal*, after he had let them know, that their Behaviour pleas'd him, and applauded this their Forwardness, made them Embark, and leading himself the Van, directed the Fleet to follow and do as he did; so putting out to Sea, he drew up near the Rocks that lye on the Coast, facing the Enemy, who was now entring into the Haven.

The Consul, *Publius*, observing the Enemy, contrary to his Opinion, to make this Stand; and that this his sudden Attempt did

not

not only afright them, but that on the contrary, he beheld them in a posture ready to give him Battel; order'd the Fleet to tack and stand back again, whereof the headmoft were now enter'd into the Port; fome were in the Haven's Mouth, and others not far off. But while thofe in the Van, who had receiv'd their Orders; were hafting back, they encounter'd the others who were yet ftanding in; by which means, falling fowl one of another, many, both Ships and Men, were in great danger of perifhing. But in fhort, they drew out as they were able, and as they got clear and obtain'd Sea-room, they put themfelves in order of Battel along the Shoar, with their Prows pointing towards the Enemy. *Publius*, who brought up the Rear of his Fleet, flood off to Sea, and pofted himfelf on the Left of his Line. But *Adherbal* having pafs'd the Right-wing of the *Romans* at the head of five Gallies with arm'd Beaks, turning the Prow of his own Veffel upon the Enemy, and making a Signal for the reft that follow'd him to do the fame; and being now drawn up in Front, he puts out his Sign for the Attack, and fo in good order they advanc'd againft the *Romans*; who, as was obferv'd, were drawn up along or under the Shoar, attending the arrival of their Veffels which were not all yet got out of the Port, which was the caufe of their Fighting greatly to their Difadvantage fo near the Land.

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The two Fleets being now near, and the Flags of Defiance on both sides put abroad, the Battle began, where for a while the Conflict seem'd to be equal, both Fleets having on Board the hardiest Men they could pick out of their respective Land-armies. But in the end, Victory began by degrees to declare for the *Carthaginians*, who from the beginning had in many points the Advantage of the *Romans*. In short, they surpass'd them in the nimbleness of their Ships, which were every way of a better Built and Contrivance, their Seamen were likewise more experienc'd and abler Men; they were posted also greatly to their advantage, having Sea-room wherein to work their Vessels, as occasion requir'd, so that at any time, when press'd by the Enemy, they could draw off, spread themselves, or draw close together, at pleasure, wherein the lightness of their Vessels very much avail'd. Furthermore, if at any time the Enemy had given Chace to any of their Gallies, and were separated any distance from their Fleet, they would then tack upon them, and intercepting them, who by reason of their heavy working, and the unskilfulness of the *Roman* Marriners, could not disengage themselves, so rowing round them, and coming on their Flank with their Prows, they Sunk many of them; on the other hand, when any of the *Carthaginian* Vessels chanc'd to be hard press'd, they

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could

could come with expedition up to their Relief, and Succour them without Hazard. But we may say of the *Romans*, that all those Benefits which their Enemy enjoy'd were wanting to them: If they chanc'd to be chac'd, they were not able to retire for the Shoar, under which they fought; insomuch, that when they were hard driven, and were forc'd to give back, they were either run a-ground on the Sands, or lost against the Rocks. Furthermore, the *Romans* were bereft of one principal Benefit, which much conduces to Success in Naval Engagements; namely, that through of the sluggishness of their Vessels, and the insufficiency of their Marriners, they were not able to come up and attack the Enemy in Flank, as occasion offer'd, nor come and fall on them in the Rear, who were already engag'd. In a word, those who were a-stern, were not able to come up to the Assistance of those who were press'd at a distance a-head, being obstructed by the Neighbourhood of the Shoar, wanting void Space wherein to move, and bring their Succours where it was needful. The Consul observing, at length, the Distress of his Fleet, that some were a-ground on the Sands, and others lost against the Rocks, himself and about Thirty Vessels that follow'd him, stood away to the Left, and retir'd out of the Battel, leaving Ninety Three of his Gallies taken by the *Carthaginians*,

very

very few of the Men belonging to those that were lost against the Shoar, escaping. This was a glorious Action for *Adherbal*, to whom the *Carthaginians* did very great Honour, attributing the Success purely to his single Vertue and Bravery: While the *Romans* treated their Consul with grievous Reproaches, laying the whole Disaster, and the Danger to which his Country was thereby reduc'd, to his sole Folly and Temerity; formally calling him to his Tryal, and loading him with a very rigorous Sentence; nevertheless they abated nothing of their Resolution upon these Misfortunes, which did not in any wise slacken their Purpose, to stretch their utmost strength to recover new Forces for prosecute the War; such was the Contention between those two People, who should remain Superior. And now one of the two new chosen Consuls, *L. Junius*, was dispatch'd over to *Cicily*, with Orders speedily to succour and supply the Camp at *Lilybæum* with Provisions and all things necessary; for the safe convey whereof they appointed a Squadron of Sixty Men of War. *Junius* having joyn'd the Fleet at *Messina* that had been rendezvous'd there by the Army, and diligence of the Islanders, shap'd his course towards *Syracuse*; his Fleet consisting of One Hundred and Twenty Ships of Burthen, and Eight Hundred other Vessels laden with Provisions and other Stores of War. From thence he

dispatc'd his Questors, with Orders to take care speedily to supply the Legions with all things of which they might stand in need, allotting them for that Service, part of his Ships of Burthen, and some of his Vessels of War; while the Consul himself remain'd at *Syracuse*, attending the arrival of that part of his Fleet which was yet behind, and could not keep him company in his Voyage from *Messina*; as likewise to receive the Corn the Islanders had provided for his Army. *Adherbal*, about the same time dispatch'd to *Carthage* the Prisoners and Ships that were taken in the Battel. Afterwards he sent *Carthalo* with a Fleet of about an Hundred Sail, adding Thirty of his own Vessels to the Squadron he had brought with him to surprise and attack the *Roman* Fleet, riding at Anchor before the Port of *Lilybæum*; with orders to take and bring away as many as he could get off, and what he could not, those to burn and destroy. *Carthalo*, pursuant to his Orders, falls upon the *Romans* about the fourth Watch of the Night; and while some of their Vessels were burning, and others towing off, the Surprise gave great terrour to the Enemy, the danger being much augmented by the cries and tumult of the People, on so unlook'd for an Adventure, for the *Romans* hastening promiscuously in the dark to succour and defend their Vessels, the noise and clamour of the Soldiers gave alarm to *Hamilcar*, Governour

of the Town, who soon perceiving what was doing, prepar'd for a Sally ; and as soon as it was Day, and that he could discern how matters went, he orders the Mercenary Troops to march out against the *Romans* ; who being thus attack'd on all sides, were reduc'd to very great straits, which much abated their Resolution ; but *Carthalo*, after having taken and tow'd off some of their Vessels, and destroy'd others, stood to Sea again, and made the best of his way towards *Hera-clea*, in order to the obstructing, what in him lay, the Succours that were coming to the Army, and receiving Advice by his Scouts, that they had discover'd a great Fleet of all sorts of Vessels, and that they were not far off, he having the *Romans* in great Contempt since their last Defeat, forthwith puts to Sea with an ardent desire to come to blows with them, but some of the smaller Vessels of the *Roman* Fleet, who were advanc'd a-head of the rest, having given notice to the *Quæstors*, that the *Carthaginians* were at hand ; they not conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to deal with them, presently took order for the safety of their Fleet, endeavouring to secure them under the Protection of a Town on the Coast belonging to the *Romans* ; but there being there no safe Harbour, only Coves and small Retreats among the Rocks, which gave them some shelter within them, the *Quæstors* therefore landing their People, apply'd them-

to make all Possible provision for the Defence of their Fleet, bringing out of the Town all their Engines and Machines for casting of Stones and shooting of Arrows, and in a Posture of Defence expected when the Enemy should Attack them. But the *Chythagini*ans being of Opinion that the apprehension of the danger they were in, would soon drive the Soldiers to retire and seek Sanctuary in the Town, resolv'd not presently to attempt them, but only to Block them up, in expectation they should shortly be Masters of the Vessels without much contest. But having some time in vain expected the Issue, and finding that contrary to their hopes, the *Romans* appear'd resolute in the defence of their Fleet, they contented themselves with surprising only some of their Victuallers, and (the Station where they were being incommodious) retir'd to a Harbour in a Neighbouring River, where coming to an Anchor, they there continu'd keeping a vigilant Eye on the motions of the *Roman* Fleet.

After the Consul had dispatch'd those Affairs which had detain'd him at *Syracuse*, he departed, and doubling the Cape of *Pachine*, shap'd his course for *Lilybæum*, totally ignorant of what had happen'd to that part of the Fleet which he had sent before. But the *Carthaginian* Scouts discovering them, gave notice to their General, who immediately weigh'd Anchor out of the Port, with determination

mination to give them Battel, before they should be able to join the other part of their Fleet. But *Junius* observing the *Carthaginian* Fleet to be now near, and taking them to be too strong and numerous for him to deal with, was compell'd to seek Sanctuary likewise in such Places as were next at hand, tho' never so dangerous, or incommodious, there being no Havens thereabout that could yield them Shelter: Making account that he ought to run any hazard rather than expose, by the loss of the Fleet, their Army by Land to the mercy of the Enemy. When the *Carthaginians* had observ'd the *Romans* purpose, by their working, they forbore to Attack them in so dangerous a Post, but retiring to a place between the Two Fleets, kept that Station; carefully observing their motions: While things stood thus, a strong Gale of Wind came up, which, by the agitation of the Sea, threaten'd a Tempest at hand: Whereupon the *Carthaginian* Pilots, who were well skill'd in the Weather and the Coast, foreseeing the approaching Danger, gave notice thereof to their Officers, and advis'd *Carthalo* by all means to weigh Anchor and get about the Cape of *Pachine*, thereby to be cover'd from the Tempest that threaten'd them. *Carthalo* readily followed this Advice, and with great difficulty doubled the Cape and secur'd his Ships. While the two *Roman* Fleets, remaining on an open har-

bourless Coast, were so violently assaulted by the Storm, that not a Ship escap'd, nor so much as a whole Plank of all their Navy.

After this Disaster, the *Carthaginians* began to respire, and conceive new Hopes, and take fresh Courage, while the *Romans*, whose former Losses had much impair'd their Naval Strength, were by this Misfortune quite ruin'd, and began now to despair to Cope with the *Carthaginians* by Sea, and resolv'd to content themselves to hold the Possession of the Inland Towns, In the mean time, as the *Carthaginians* were become Masters at Sea, so they would not renounce their Hopes of succeeding in their Affairs by Land. And albeit the Condition of the *Romans* was deplorable enough, and their Army before *Lilybæum* driven to very hard shifts by these Disappointments; nevertheless, they held firm to their Purpose of continuing the Siege. Accordingly without delay Order was taken, to have them supply'd by Land, with whatsoever they stood in need of; the Army resolutely determining to abide the utmost Extremity. As to *Junius* the Consul, he after this dreadful Shipwreck, speeds away to the Army, full of Anxiety, and meditating on nothing more, than how by some new and remarkable Service, he might repair this cruel shock of Fortune. Wherefore, he undertook on a very slight motive, to surprize *Erix*, which together with the Town and Temple of *Venus*,

pus, he got into his possession. *Erix*, is a Mountain standing on the Coast of *Sicily* that looks towards *Italy*, scituate between *Drepanum* and *Palermo*, the most difficult and inaccessible part thereof being on that side which regards *Drepanum*. This is the highest Mountain in the whole Island, Mount *Ætna* excepted: On the top whereof there is a Plain, where the Temple of *Venus Ericina*, the most noble and richly Adorn'd without dispute, and the most celebrated for Devotion in *Sicily*. The Town likewise stands on the same Ground, the Access to it being long, straight, and difficult. *Junius* placeth on the top of this Mountain a Garrison, on the side towards *Drepanum*; with Orders that they should keep a strict Watch both ways, for he was unwilling to treat the People with violence, unless they gave him occasion; concluding that by that means he should hold both the Town and the Mountain in safe possession.

During these Transactions, the *Carthaginians* made choice of *Hamilcar Barca* for their General, giving him the Command of their Fleet, in the Eighteenth Year of the War, With this Fleet, as soon as he had receiv'd his Orders, he departed to the Coast of *Italy* with Design to make Descents and Inroads on the Country; accordingly, he fell on the *Locrians* and the *Brutians*, and shortly after, comes with his whole Fleet towards *Palermo*, near which Place, not far from the Sea-side, betwixt *Palermo* and

and *Erix*, he took possession of a Place, which he chose for the Commodity of its Situation, where an Army might Incamp with safety, and be constantly and easily supply'd with all necessaries. In short, it was an Eminence steep on all sides, and hard of Access, on the top whereof there was a Plain or Level, of at least Twelve Miles in compass, the Ground yields both very good Pasture, and is proper for the Plow, it is cover'd from all the bad Weather that blows from the Sea, where there are no Serpents or noxious Animals; furthermore, the Situation is so secur'd by Rocks and Precipices, both to the Land and Seawards, that to guard the Passes either way, a very little Fortification sufficeth. In the middle of the foresaid Plain or Level, there riseth another Eminence, so dispos'd by Nature, as if it were design'd as a Citadel to the rest, from whence there is a Prospect into all the Country round about; here is likewise a good Port of great use to such as Navigate from *Drepanum* or *Lilybaeum* to *Italy*. The Accesses to this Place are only Four, and those very difficult; Two from the Sea and Two from the Landward. Here *Hamilcar* incamp'd his Army, fortifying himself, with a Resolution little short of Temerity, having no Friend or Confederate near him, and without hopes of any for the future, surrounded by, and as it were abandon'd to, the Mercy of the the Enemy. Howbeit he here found
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Work enough for the *Romans*, and often put their Affairs in great danger. For Sailing out of the Port, he pillag'd and wasted the Coast of *Italy* as far as *Cuma*; and afterwards, notwithstanding the *Romans* were incamp'd within Eight Hundred Paces of *Palermo*, he led his Army thither. In a Word, this Place was, as it were for almost Three Years together, the Stage of so many various Disputes and Rencounters, that it would be very hard to relate the particular Adventures. In brief, the Behaviour of the respective Captains and Leaders themselves, may not be unfitly compar'd to the Bravery of those, who voluntarily mingle themselves with the *Gladiators*, and expose themselves to fight for the Prize in Publick Spectacles: For they were in perpetual Action, and giving and receiving Wounds at every turn, wherein both their Strength, Bravery and Dexterity, was seen so many several ways, that it would be difficult for the Soldiers themselves to recount the various Passages, much less for the Spectators to remember and relate them, or to make a Judgment, otherwise than in general to determine by the remarkableness of the Actions, the Courage and Experience of the Actors.

For, in brief, whosoever should attempt to set down the many Plots, and Ambushes, mutually contriv'd one against the other, how sometimes those who laid the Snare fell themselves

selves in their own Toiles ; if, I say, one should think to recount the many Attacks, Surprises and Rencounters that occur'd, and the various Scenes of Action that pass'd, the Historian would never have done, nor indeed would the Relation be either pleasant or profitable to the Reader. Let us therefore make a Judgment of the Vertue of the Commanders, by a general Relation of their Performances; and the Issue and Sequel of so many great and hazardous Enterprizes ; tho' it shall be our Care however to pass by nothing, that may become an Historian to relate, neither their Stratagems, nor any extraordinary Inventions, which Necessity or Occasion might suggest to put in Practice, nor any singular or remarkable Action, that required more than ordinary Talents of Bravery to execute.

And here it is observable, that it was not possible for them to come to a pitch'd Battel, for sundry Reasons : First, their Forces on both sides were equal, their Camps likewise were by Nature difficult of Access, and by the help of Art render'd Impregnable, so that each being assur'd of their Safety in their Works, they prosecuted their Contention by Parties and daily Rencounters, neither seeming inclin'd to put an Issue to the War by a decisive Battel. So that at length it became as it were a Custom between them, to divide and keep the Success of their Enterprizes as it were in Balance, assigning Victory to him

to Day, who was to lose on the Morrow. Fortune presiding as a sage Judge in the Lists, and appointing at her Pleasure now one place, now another, to be the Scene of Action, diversifying the nature of their Disputes, and changing the Place as she pleas'd, from one sort of Ground to another, from Places more open to others more streight and inclos'd.

While the *Romans* kept Guard both on the top and at the foot of the Mountain *Erix*, as hath been observ'd, *Hamilcar* surpriz'd the Town, which stands between, on the skirt of the Hill, notwithstanding the *Roman* Soldiers within it. So that the *Romans* who were in Garrison on the top, became by that means besieg'd by the Enemy, who were by them before shut up, where they endur'd all the Hardships, and were expos'd to all the Dangers imaginable, which they suffer'd however with unspeakable Constancy. The *Carthaginians* likewise oppos'd the Enemy with an obstinate Bravery, who press'd them hard on all sides, depriving them of all means of Subsistence, saving by the Avenue that lay towards the Sea, whereby their Provision was not obtain'd but with great difficulty.

And now albeit they attempted one another with all the Art and Address, that is practis'd in Sieges and Attacks; after they had equally felt all sorts of Violence, were pinch'd with extremity of Famine, and had experimented whatsoever Hardships, are done
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or suffer'd in the most calamitous Adventures incident to a Siege; they may nevertheless be said to have been mutually crown'd with Victory, but not as it is represented by *Fabius*, who reports them to have been Vanquish'd by the Miseries they underwent; but Triumphant over all that could be put in practice to subdue each other. For before it could be seen who was likely to have the better, tho' it was a Dispute, on one single Spot, of two whole Years duration; yet the War at length determin'd after another manner.

Thus have I recounted the Occurrences of *Erix*, and the Actions of the Land-armies; those two States being fitly resembled to Birds, which in Fight shew more Courage than Strength, where it often happens that their Anger remains when their Power is lost, and so retireing by Consent, leave it doubtful, who had the Advantage. In like manner, may it be said, to have far'd with the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, who, weaken'd by so long a War, and wasted by the expence of so many Years Dispute, were reduc'd on both sides to the last Extremity. Nevertheless the *Romans* maintain'd a certain Inflexibility of Resolution, not to be express'd; for altho' for the space of five Years, they had totally desisted from all Naval Preparations, discourag'd by the many Misfortunes which attended their Navigations, proposing they should

should be able to put a period to this long and dangerous War, with their Land-forces alone, yet at length perceiving that the great Abilities of *Hamilcar* were likely to frustrate that Expectation, they determin'd now the third time, to place their Hopes in a Fleet, concluding it to be the only Means, whereby to put a happy Issue to the Dispute, if Fortune would but in any sort favour their Beginning; and the Sequel prov'd they did not reckon amiss. They forsook the Sea, the first time, by reason of the Shipwrecks they had sustain'd, and the second time they were compell'd by the loss of their Fleet, in a Battel near *Drepanum*. And yet they wanted not Assurance to attempt Fortune a third time, how averse soever she had hitherto been. And now having cut off all the means of Subsistence from the *Carthaginians* in *Erix*, they by that means subdu'd them, and put an end to the Strife.

But let us observe by the way, that this Undertaking of the *Romans*, was owing more to their Vertue, than to any other Cause whatsoever. For their Treasure was exhausted to so low an Ebb, that there appear'd no sort of Fond, whereby to enable them to pursue their Design; but their Greatness of Mind, and the Generosity of those who were in the Government, surmounted all Impediments. And it so fell out, that means were at length found more than sufficient to effect this

this great Determination, for every one voluntarily contributed in proportion to his private Fortune, and undertook as they were able among themselves; some two, some more joining their Stock, to build and equip a Vessel for their share, on no other Condition than to be reimburs'd by the Publick at the end of the War. So that in a short space a Fleet of Two Hundred Sail was Built, and put to Sea, all contriv'd according, to the Model of the *Rhodian* Vessel, we have else-where mention'd; the Command of this Fleet was given to the Consul *C. Lutatius*, who departing early in the Spring, arriv'd in *Sicily* when he was least look'd for, the *Carthaginian* Fleet being retir'd. He presently possess'd himself of the Port of *Drepanum*, and all the Harbours in the Neighbourhood of *Lilybaeum*; then he made Preparations for laying Siege to the Town of *Drepanum*, but he proceeded therein with such Caution as betoken'd his Foresight, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet might speedily arrive; and bearing in Mind what had been concluded in their Deliberations at their first setting out, namely, that nothing could put a Period to the War, but a Naval Battel; he therefore, pursuant to that Resolv, lost no occasion of Exercising and Disciplining his Soldiers and Seamen in all Points wherein they might be render'd serviceable to his Design. And as he was careful to preserve good Order among them, so they soon became ex-

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pert and knowing in their Business, and his Soldiers ready and capable of pursuing any Orders they should receive.

The *Carthaginians*, very much surpris'd at the News of a *Roman* Navy, dispatch'd away a Fleet with all expedition against them, sending at the same time a good relief of Provision of Victuals and all sorts of Stores of War. But their chief care was, that those who were straiten'd in *Erix* might be supply'd with whatever they wanted. *Hanno*, therefore, who Commanded the *Carthaginian* Fleet, shap'd his Course first towards *Hieronnesus*, with design to touch at *Erix*, before the *Romans* should have any account of his Motions; determining, after he had supply'd them, and lighten'd his Vessels, to re-inforce his Troops from thence, with the choice of the Mercenaries that were there, and that then joining with *Barcas*, he should be in a condition to give the Enemy Battel. But *Lutatius*, who had got Advice of *Hanno's* Arrival, and suspected, indeed, his Design; took on board the choice of his Land-forces, and sail'd away for the Island of *Ægusa*, commonly call'd *Ægates*, which lies just against the Port of *Lilybæum*, where, after an Exhortation to the Army, suiting the Time and the Occasion, he notify'd to the Commanders of his Vessels, that he purpos'd the next Day to give the Enemy Battel; but when, in the Morning, he observ'd the Wind to blow in favour

of the Enemy, and consequently, not fair for them; and further, that the Sea began to swell, and threaten foul Weather, he then became undetermin'd how to proceed. But after he had well weigh'd the matter, and consider'd, that by engaging them, tho' the Weather were not favourable, he should, however, have to do with *Hanno* alone, and the Troops only that Embark'd with him; that over and above, he should deal with a Fleet loaden, and incumber'd with the Stores and Provisions which they had taken on Board; and that, on the other hand, if he delay'd out of fear of the foul Weather, and by that means gave the Enemy the opportunity of passing by, and joining their Forces, he must then fight, not only with a Fleet light and discharg'd of all their Lumber, but with an Army strengthen'd with the choice of their Land-Forces, and what was yet more formidable, he must engage against the known Gallantry of *Hamilcar*. Wherefore he resolv'd not to lose the occasion that offer'd. And now it was not long before they descry'd the Enemy coming with a stown Sheet, whereupon he stood out of the Port, and drawing up in a Line of Battel, made directly towards them; for his Seamen being strong, in good plight, and well exercis'd, tho' the Sea and Wind was against them, surmounted the difficulty; and contemning all Opposition, advanc'd in good order against the Enemy.

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When the *Carthaginians* saw themselves thus way-laid by the Enemy, and their Passage barr'd, they forthwith struck their Sails, and after the Captains of their respective Ships had exhorted their Men to behave themselves as they ought, they prepar'd for the Battel. But the Scene was now shifted, and the circumstances of the Combatants being totally chang'd, from what it was in the Battel near *Drepanum*, it will not therefore be thought strange, that the Success should fall out otherwise. In short, the *Romans* were to seek, till now, in the good Contrivance and Built of their Ships; they had now no Lumber on board to pester and incommode them, having nothing with them but what was of use in the Battel. Furthermore, their Seamen, who were now able, and well exercis'd, were a mighty help towards their Success in this occasion; they were likewise, for Soldiers, furnish'd with the choicest Troops they could pick out of the Land-army. The *Carthaginians*, on the other hand, could boast of none of those Benefits, for their Ships were loaden and pester'd, and in no wise in condition for fight; their Seamen were raw and unable, being taken up and entertain'd in haste; their Soldiers were likewise new-raisd Men, having never before seen a Battel; for they had laid aside all thoughts of Naval Preparations, on Presumption that the *Romans* would never more adventure to Sea. In a

word, the *Carthaginians* being in every thing inferiour to their Enemy, the Dispute was soon ended, the *Romans* routing them at the first Encounter. Fifty of the *Carthaginian* Vessels were sunk, and Seventy taken, with all their Men a-board; the rest, making the best of their way afore the Wind back towards *Hieronnesus*, there being scarce an Example of so sudden and seasonable a change of Wind, which came about, as it were, to supply a present pressing Necessity. After the Battel, the Consul stood away with the Fleet for *Lilybæum*, to dispose of his Prizes and Prisoners, which gave him business enough, there being, at least, Ten Thousand taken. When the *Carthaginians* had notice of this Defeat, so contrary to their Expectation, tho' they were surpris'd, yet they were not humbled, and would willingly have continu'd the War, could they have found means to sustain it; but of that they had no Prospect. For while the *Romans* continu'd Masters at Sea, there was no way whereby to succour and sustain their Forces in *Sicily*; and on the other hand, utterly to abandon them, would be in a manner to betray them; and leave themselves destitute both of Officers and Soldiers for the Service of the Commonwealth; they therefore dispatch'd a plenary Power to *Hamilcar Barcas*, committing the entire Conduct of their Affairs in *Sicily* to his Management, who, with great Reputation

tion and Honour, acquitted himself of that Commission; performing, in every thing, the part of a Wise and Able Commander; for so long as he had but the shadow of Hope to advance the Interest of his Country, he left nothing unattempted that was not Imprudent and Temerarious to promote it, acting so, as hardly any Man in Military Performance may be nam'd before him; but Fortune had deserted the *Carthaginians*; and he, after he had unprofitably taken all the best Measures that Experience had taught him, or Reason could suggest, began, at length, to take thought for the safety and preservation of those under him, and wisely yielding to Necessity, and the Circumstances, and State of their present Fortune, dispatch'd Ambassadors to the Consul, to treat about a Peace. For 'tis fit we should know, that the same Prudence is seen in the Management of a Defeat as of a Victory. *Lutatius* lent a willing Ear to this Message, knowing full well how much the *Roman* State had suffer'd by the War; and that they themselves were sinking under the Burthen: So a Period was given to that bloody Strife, the Articles of Peace being a little more or less, as follows;

If the People of Rome approve thereof, there shall be Peace and Friendship between the Romans and Carthaginians, on Condition, That the Carthagians intirely depart out of Sicily;

that they shall not make farther War upon Hieron, nor the Syracusians, nor against their Confederates: That the Carthaginians shall deliver up all the Roman Prisoners Ransom-free; and shall pay them, within the space of Twenty Years, the Sum of Two Thousand Two Hundred Talents of Silver.

These Articles were forthwith dispatch'd to Rome; but forasmuch as the People were not intirely satisfy'd, Ten Deputies were empower'd to go into *Sicily*, and after they had thorowly inform'd themselves of the State of their Affairs, to determine on the place what should be concluded; who, upon their arrival, after they had maturely consider'd of all things, they agreed to the Treaty, with this Alteration of shortning the Time for Payment, adding Two Hundred Talents to the Sum, and obliging the *Carthaginians* to depart out of all the Islands scituate between *Italy* and *Sicily*. Thus the War determin'd, which was wag'd between those two People, for the Mastery of *Sicily*, which had lasted full Four and Twenty Years, and was the longest and most Memorable that History hath any where recorded; nor was there ever any that had been prosecuted with so little Intermiſſion. In conclusion, not to recount the numerous Conflicts, and the mighty Preparations that were made during that space, let it suffice to note, as hath been al-

already abserv'd, that they once fought at Sea with Five Hundred Vessels, comprehending both Fleets, afterwards with few less than Seven Hundred Sail. On the part of the *Romans* were lost during this War, what by Tempest, what by other Accidents, Seven Hundred Ships; and on the *Carthaginians* part, near Five Hundred. So that if People were surpris'd, and wonder'd at the Naval Battles heretofore fought between *Antigonus Ptolomy* and *Demetrius*, they will have much more cause of Doubt and Astonishment, when they shall hear related, the stupendous Transactions that compose our History. And if we shall make Comparison between the Fleets wherewith the *Persians* wag'd War with the *Greeks*, and the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* among themselves, it will be a farther Subject of their Wonder, how such mighty numbers could be brought to fight in a Sea-Engagement. Whence it will become manifest, as we have remark'd in the beginning of our History, that if the *Romans* Design extended to the Subjection of the Universe and they arriv'd at their End, it will not be found owing so much to Fortune or Accident, as some *Greek* Authors would suggest, as to the plain and evident measures of Reason, inasmuch as they had acquir'd a perfect and through Knowledge and Insight into all those extraordinary Enterprises which they had made the Subject of

their Meditation. But it may be demanded, How it comes to pass, that now at this day, when they are arriv'd at the Universal Dominion, and their Affairs in a more prosperous state than ever; that if their should be occasion, they would not be able to provide and fit out such Fleets, nor make such Naval Preparations, as in those days? To which I answer, That as it is true, so the Reason is very plain, which shall be made appear, when we come to treat about the Form of the *Roman* Commonwealth. But to the end the Reader may be thoroughly enlighten'd, we will not decide here (as it were by the by) so important a Point. Let us lend our Attention then to the present Subject; for what we shall now farther deliver will appear worth our while, tho' we had not yet related any thing to the purpose. For as some Authors have heard nothing of the Adventures of the *Romans*, so others have handled their History with so much Obscurity, that no profit can arise thereby. We may observethen, that in this War which we have been relating the Forces and Courage of the two Contending States, seem'd to be equal almost in every thing; and principally in their obstinate Emulation for Dominion and Empire. As for their Armies, I believe we may safely grant, in the general, that the *Roman* Souldiers were the better Militia. But as to their great Officers, *Hamilcar* Sur-

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nam'd *Barcas*, Father to the famous *Hannibal*, who afterward made War upon the *Romans*, may be justly reckon'd, both for Courage and Wisdom, the ablest Commander of that Age.

The Peace was no sooner ratify'd between those two States, when they happen'd about the same time, to fall, as it were, into one and the same Misfortune: The *Romans* had a kind of Civil War, by a Rebellion of the *Faliscans*, but it was soon ended by the Suppression of that People, and the taking their City. And the *Carthaginians* suffer'd by a War with the *Numidians* and *Africans*, their Neighbours, who join'd in an Insurrection with their own Mercenary Souldiers; but the *Carthaginians* had not the like Success as the *Romans*; for they were often reduc'd to the last Extremity, and fought many Battles, not only for the Safety of the Government in general; but for their own private Stakes, their Families, and Fortunes. In short, the account of the Occurrences of that War, for many Reasons might have been deferred, howbeit, we shall, in few words, as it was our Purpose, give an account thereof here; for it will be thereby made manifest, by what then came to pass, what the nature of that War is, which the *Greeks* have call'd Inexpiable. Furthermore, we may be instructed by that which happen'd to the *Carthaginians*, what Foresight is to be practis'd, and

and Caution ought to be us'd by those who will compose their Armies of Mercenary and Forreign Troops. We shall likewise be taught the difference in Manners between a barbarous People, and those who have been bred and educated under the Laws of good Discipline. In a word, it will appear by the Sequel of those Transactions, what gave rise to that War between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* that was prosecuted by *Hannibal*. And in regard, not only Historians, but the Managers themselves, of the War, are to this day in dispute about the Causes thereof, it will not be an unprofitable Work to set the World right therein.

As soon as *Hamilcar* had finish'd the Treaty, and led the Troops that were in *Erix* to *Lilybæum*, he resign'd his Commission; and *Gesco*, who was Governour of that place, had the charge of transporting the Army into *Africk*; who, foreseeing what might happen, did not Embark them all at once, but prudently dispatch'd them by Divisions and Parties, allotting so much time between their Embarking, as might suffice for his purpose; which was, that those who were first sent, might be paid, and discharg'd, and sent to their Country, before the others should arrive. But the *Carthaginians* had another Project, for their Treasure being greatly exhausted by the War, they determin'd to defer their Payment till they had them all together; and then

then to propose to satisfy them with part only of what was due to them; so they remain'd in the Port, and were receiv'd and detain'd in *Carthage* as they arriv'd.

But the City at length growing weary of the Neighbourhood of those Strangers, who daily molested them by insupportable Injuries and Insolence, they wrought with their Officers to accept of Quarters elsewhere, at a Town call'd *Sicca*, whither they march'd them, receiving a certain Sum for their present Subsistence, till their Pretentions should be adjust'd, and the whole Army transported; but upon their resolving to leave their Families, and their Equipage, as they had done heretofore, behind them in the City, in expectation speedily to return to receive their Pay; the *Carthaginians*, fearing, that after so long an absence, it would be hard to keep some from remaining behind, and others from returning back out of love to their Relations, by which means, the Relief they design'd to the City, by their departure, would be without effect; they therefore prevail'd with them, to march with Bag and Baggage. And now when the whole Army was got into *Sicca*, and began to relish the Pleasure of Repose, whereof, for a long time they had not tasted, Idleness soon begat Liberty and Neglect of Discipline; Evils commonly incident to Soldiers without Employment; and, in short, the cause, for the most part, of all Mu-

Mutinies and Disorders. They therefore began to be very clamorous for their Pay, exalting their Merits much above their due; and altho' their Claim was unreasonable, yet they determin'd among themselves to abate nothing of their Demands. Furthermore, calling to mind, the many Promises their Officers had made them of Largeſſes and Rewards, for the well-performance of their Duty in the many perillous Conflicts wherein they had been engag'd, they rais'd their Expectations yet higher, and with a covetous Impatience, attended the Issue of their Pretensions. When the Army, as we ſaid, was arriv'd, and all receiv'd into *Sicca*, *Hanno*, who at that time was chief Magistrate in *Carthage*, was diſpatch'd to them, who not only did not answer their Demands, but came even ſhort in his Propositions of what they had already promis'd, remonſtrating to them the Poverty of the State, and the heavy Tributes the Country was already under, and therefore labour'd to perſwade them to be ſatisfy'd with, and take for good Payment, a part only of what appear'd due to them; which Proposition was not only rejected, but answer'd with a preſent Inſurrection of the Soldiers; ſometimes the ſeveral Nations mutining a-part, ſometimes joining in a general Sedition, all running to their Arms; and in regard they were of different Countries and Languages, not underſtood by one
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another, the Disorder was thereby greatly increas'd, and nothing but Trouble and Tumult was seen in the Camp. In short, the *Carthaginians*, whose Militia is for the most part compos'd of Mercenary Troops, have their Policy of forming them out of divers Nations, believing it hard to conceive a general Conspiracy or Sedition, in an Army, where the Soldiers are of different Languages and Manners, and by that means, likewise, that Soldiers are preserv'd in better Obedience to their Superiors. But if it arrive once to a general Defection, and that the Sedition spreads throughout the Army, the Disease then becomes incurable, it being impossible to reduce them to their Duty; and the Instance now before us, convinc'd the *Carthaginians* of the Defect of their Politicks in that Custom. For whenever it happens, that Armies so compos'd, conceive a general Dislike or Hatred, the Effects extend beyond the common measures of Outrage and Inhumanity, and Men exceed, in savage Cruelty, wild Beasts themselves. This Calamity, then, besel the *Carthaginians*, whose Army consisted of *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Lyguriens*, *Baleareans* and *Greeks*; among whom were many fugitive Slaves, who were most of them *Africans*; so that it was impossible to speak to them all at once, or in one place; or, indeed, to contrive any means to do it; for one Officer alone could not perform it, tho' he were qualify'd to speak in all

all their Languages; it would have been likewise equally difficult to assemble and speak to them at one and the same time by different Interpreters, who would never be able to render the same Sense equally intelligible to four or five different Nations at once. Their best course, then, was to instruct the Commanders, to deal with, and harangue their several Troops, when they had any thing to command or perswade the Soldiers. *Hanno*, accordingly gave out his Orders to them as he was able; while those who were to execute them, had themselves, but an imperfect understanding of what was order'd; others, tho' they understood what was directed them to say, yet reported quite the contrary to the Soldiers; so that, what through Ignorance, what through Treachery, Distrusts and Jealousies daily increas'd, the Soldiers Complaints not duly heard, and the Conspiracy and Disaffection grew stronger and stronger. The Army thought themselves outrag'd, that instead of sending to them Officers, under whom they had serv'd in *Sicily*, who knew their Merits, and who had so often assur'd them of Rewards; the *Carthaginians* had sent them one, who knew them not, and had no manner of knowledge of their Services. In short, as they slighted and contemn'd *Hanno*, so they began to distrust their own Officers; and thus inrag'd as they were, with their Arms in their hands, they

they march'd Twenty Thousand of them towards *Carthage*, and incamp'd near *Tunes*, about Fifteen Miles from the City.

And now the *Carthaginians* became convinc'd of their Weakness, when it was too late, and no present Remedy could be had; for it was a mighty Fault in them to permit such a Body of Strangers to Assemble all in one Place, while at the same time they well knew, that in case any Disorder should arise, they had not Strength sufficient at home to appear in their own Defence. Another great Error they committed, in permitting their Wives, Children, and their Equipage to go out of the City, which, like so many Hostages, would have serv'd, not only to have preserv'd them in their Duty, but would have gone far towards composing the Differences that were arisen between them. In a word, the *Carthaginians* affrighted to behold such an Army, as one may say, of Enemies at their Gates, labour'd all they could to win them to Obedience and good Order. They sent them supplies of Provision, which they bought at their own Rates; they dispatch'd Deputies to them likewise out of the Body of the Senate, who assur'd them of all they should demand, that was in the Power of the State to perform: But these Mutineers found something new to require every day, and the Fear they perceiv'd the *Carthaginians* to be in, added to their Insolence; who having

ving serv'd against the *Romans* in *Sicily*, they took for granted that neither the *Carthaginians*, nor any other People whatsoever, would have Courage to oppose them, or offer them Battel in the Field. No sooner therefore had they adjust'd their Demands of Pay, but they proceeded to further Exactions; they requir'd payment for the Horses they had lost in the Service; when that was agreed to, they demanded payment for the Corn that had been deliver'd them short of their Allowance for many Years past, and they would be paid too at the Rate that it had at any time been sold at, in the utmost Extremity of the War. In brief, as there were many Mutinous and Seditious Persons in the Army, so those propagated new Exorbitances, and every day found fresh occasion of Complaint, and prevented their Agreement by impossible Proposals. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* were resolv'd to agree to every thing, and now the Mutiny began to be appeas'd, when they understood that an Officer should be sent them under whom they had serv'd in *Sicily*, who should have Power to Agree and Adjust with them all their Pretences. They were not pleas'd with *Hamilcar Barcas*, under whom they had born Arms, believing he had been the occasion of the ill Treatment they had found, because he never came near them; and they believ'd too, that he had quitted his Command of his own Motion. On the other

other hand they had an Affection to *Gesco*, who had likewise commanded them in *Sicily*, and who had appear'd their Friend and Advocate in many Occasions, especially in the matter of their Transportation, so they determin'd to chuse him as Arbitrator in the Matters depending. He therefore embarks, taking Money with him, and upon his Arrival at *Tunes*, first calls an Assembly of their Principal Officers, and then he Summons them separately, Nation by Nation. Where, after he had gently reprov'd them for their past Behaviour, he Remonstrates to them the present State of Affairs, and above all labours to perswade them to continue their Affection and Duty to a Government under which they had so long Serv'd, and taken Pay; and, in short, exhorted them to be content with the Remainder of their Pay as it appear'd due. Among the Mutineers there happen'd to be one *Spendius* a *Campanian*, who had been a Slave to the *Romans*, and had harbour'd himself among the *Carthaginians*: He was strong of Body, and in all occasions of Danger very forward; this Fellow, fearing to fall into the hands of his Master, for by the Custom of *Rome* his Fault was punish'd with Death; labour'd both with Words and Actions, to trouble and perplex the Treaty they were upon; and to hinder by all means possible their Agreement with the *Carthaginians*. Another there was,

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whose Name was *Matho*, who was an *African*, of free condition, and a Soldier among them, having been an active Stirrer in this Conspiracy, and out of fear of Punishment, join'd with *Spendius* to obstruct the Accommodation, possessing the *Africans*, That as soon as the Strangers should be paid, and dispatch'd to their Country, it would be their lot to Pay for all, and that the *Carthaginians* would take such Revenge on them, for the Injuries which had been done them, that all *Africa* should tremble at it. The Soldiers grew hereupon inrag'd a-new, and in regard they were not likely to receive of *Gesco* any other Satisfaction than their Arrears of Pay; what was due for their Horses and Bread, being respited to another time, they therefore took thence occasion of fresh Disorders, and assembled in the publick Meeting-place in a mutinous manner. To *Spendius* and *Matho* they lent a willing Ear, who rais'd both against *Gesco* and the *Carthaginians*, and if any one presum'd to offer them temperate Counsel, he was forthwith ston'd to Death, even before it could be understood what the Purport of his Discourse was, whether for or against *Spendius*, and now great slaughter was made both of People of publick and private Condition, and nothing was heard during the Tumult, but, Kill, kill; and what greatly augmented the Rage of those People, was the excess of Wine they had drunk, ha-
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ving newly risen from their Repast. So that the word Kill resounding suddenly throughout the Camp, there was no escaping for any one against whom they conceiv'd any distrust or distaste. In a Word, there being now none who presum'd to open his Mouth to divert their Determinations, they chose *Spendius* and *Matho* for their Leaders and Commanders in Chief.

Gesco was not without a due Sence of the Danger he was in among these People, but he let that Consideration give place to the Duty he ow'd his Country; he fore-saw that if this Mutiny once came to a head, the Commonwealth would be driven to great straits, to prevent which, he was willing to be expos'd to any hazard. He therefore with great Constancy of Mind pursu'd his Purpose of reducing them to their Duty by all means possible: Sometimes he treated with their Officers, sometimes with the sundry Nations apart; but now being in present want of Bread in the Camp, they impatiently demanded it of *Gesco*; he, as it chanc'd, in a sort of Contempt, to reprove their Insolence, bad them go to *Matho* their Captain; this put all in a Flame, so that without any further delay or respect, they seize on the Money that was brought, and lay ready told in order to their Payment, and arrested *Gesco*, and all the *Carthaginians* who accompany'd him.

And now *Matho* and *Spendius* conceiving the only way to put matters past Accommodation, and to come to open Hostility, was to ingage the Soldiers in some such violent Action, as should be a manifest breach of their Duty, and a violation of the Treaty they were upon. Wherefore they fomented with all their Art and Industry, this Audacious Proceeding of the Multitude; who now had not only seiz'd on the *Carthaginian* Money and their Baggage, but laying violent hands on *Gesco* and his Followers, committed them to Prison, loading them with Irons, and then most impiously conspir'd and, against the Law of Nations, declar'd War against the *Carthaginians*. This then was the Beginning and the Cause of the War with the Mercenaries, which was call'd the *African War*. After this, *Matho* dispatch'd Deputies to the Cities round about, exhorting them to think on their Liberty; to send him Succours; and to enter into a Confederacy with him. And now the several Heads of the Faction finding the *Africans* dispos'd to Revolt, and to shake off the *Carthaginian* Yoke; and that Supplies both of Men and Provisions were dispatch'd to them from all Parts, they divided their Army into Two. One they sent against *Utica*, and the other towards *Hippona*, which two Places had refus'd to join with them in their Defection from the *Carthaginians*.

The Custom of the *Carthaginians* had ever been to Sustain themselves out of the Fruits and Growth of the Country, and the greatest part of their Treasure and Income, wherewith they defray'd their Wars, and made their Military Preparations, arose out of their Revenues in *Africa*. But their Armies in all their Expeditions were ever compos'd of Strangers, by which means it will appear, and by what we have related, that all things conspir'd at once to their Damage, and what had been their Support, converted to their Disadvantage, so that from Consternation they fell to Despair; for so great was their Surprise, that nothing could possibly have befalln them so remote from their Expectation. For after the War of *Sicily*, which had consum'd their Treasure, (being now assur'd of Peace) they promis'd themselves a breathing Space of Tranquility; and took for granted, their Condition would be at least Supportable. But those Hopes soon vanish'd, and were chang'd into the sad Prospect of a War more cruel and dangerous. Their Contest with the *Romans*, was for the Dominion of *Sicily* only; now they were to Fight for their own proper Safety, and the Preservation of the Commonwealth; and all this without any Stores of War, Armies or Fleets, or any Provision towards it; after so many Unfortunate Conflicts wherein they had been engag'd. Furthermore, they were without

either Money, or hopes of Friends to whom they might have recourse for Succour. And here they came to perceive the difference betwixt a Foreign and remote War, beyond the Seas; and Civil Dissension at their own Doors.

In short, this People were of themselves the Authors of their own Calamities; for during the first War, with what grievous Tyranny did they oppress the poor *Africans*, thinking they favour'd them, by exacting from them but the one half of their Income, continuing the same Levies upon their Towns and Cities in time of Peace, as were drawn from them to carry on the War; and this was extorted with that rigour that the poorest Subject was not exempted. And whensoever they were to elect new Magistrates for the Provinces, the Choice never fell on those who were likely to Govern the People with Lenity and Moderation, but on such whose Rigour promis'd them the greatest Fruits of their Oppression, by draining them of their Money to furnish out their Fleets and their Armies; and, in a word, to Minister to the Ambition of the Republick; among whom *Hanno* was a principal Minister. All this consider'd, the *Africans* were not likely to be backward to Rebel; to whom the bare Report only of what was transacting was sufficient to engage them. The Women themselves, who had so often seen their Fathers

thers and Husbands dragg'd to Prison by the Tax-gatherers, were in every Town active in promoting the Revolt, combining among themselves to refuse nothing that could be compass'd to carry on the War, sparing neither their Ornaments, nor precious Moveables to raise Pay for the Armies: Insomuch that *Matho* and *Spendius* were so plentifully supply'd with Mony, that they had not only sufficient to Pay the Arrears that were due, which they had assur'd them of, the better to ingage them to their Purpose: but were enabled to sustain the Expence and growing Charge of the Army. For Wise Officers extend their Prospect beyond the present Occasion. And now, notwithstanding the *Carthaginians* were heavily oppress'd by these Misfortunes, they omitted not however to provide the best Means for their Defence. The Conduct of the War they gave to *Hanno*, of whose Service they had heretofore made use, in the Conquest of that part of their Dominions lying about *Hecatompolis*. They levy'd Soldiers likewise, from all Parts, and commanded all their Citizens, who were able to bear Arms, to be Muster'd, they exercis'd the Horse also that belong'd to the City, and repair'd their decay'd Ships, and order'd the Building of new ones. In the mean time *Matho* and *Spendius*, who had (Seventy Thousand *Africans* in their Army) besieg'd *Utica* and *Hippona* at one

and the same time; being without any Apprehension of the Enemy; for they kept Guard in their Camp near *Tunes*, by which means the *Carthaginians* were debarr'd all Commerce and Communication with *Africa*. For *Carthage* is situate on a Peninsula which runs far out into the Sea, and is bounded by that on the one side, and the other by Marish and unpassable Grounds; so that the Isthmus that joins it to the Continent, is not three Miles broad; *Utica* stands not far from that Part of *Carthage* which regards the Sea, and *Tunes* on the side of the Marish Ground: So that the Enemy being incamp'd in those two Places, did in effect not only block up the *Carthaginians* from the Continent, but even alarm'd the City itself, marching sometimes by Night, some times by Day, to their very Walls; filling the Inhabitants with great Fear and Disorder. Nevertheless, *Hanno* omitted no part of his Charge, making all Provision possible for the War, wherein he was very capable, being well practis'd in Affairs of that Nature, but he was found no able Soldier, whensoever he march'd against the Enemy; for he knew not how to improve Occasions of Advantage, and not only manifested his Want of Judgment, but of Courage, too when it came to the Tryal. For marching to the Relief of *Utica*, when he had terrify'd and disorder'd the Enemy by the help of his Elephants, whereof he had an
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Hundred in his Army, and Victory had already declar'd for him; yet through his Default, not only the Army, but the Town it self, was in great hazard of being lost; for having brought from *Carthage* all sorts of Machines, Engines, and Equipage of War, proper for the Attack of Towns, and incamping near *Utica*, he assaulted the Enemies Works, who, not able to stand the Force of the Elephants, were forc'd to quit their Camp. Many were slain by those Animals, and such as escap'd, retir'd to a neighbouring Mountain for Safety, which being strong by Situation, and over-grown with Wood, they thought themselves there secure enough. While *Hanno*, who had been accusom'd to make War with the *Africans* and *Numidians*, who, upon any Defeat, are wont to Retreat as far from Danger as they are able, often flying for Two or Three Days together; thought himself secure of the Victory, and that the Enemy had been totally defeated, insomuch that he neglected the Guard of his Camp, left his Soldiers at Liberty, and retiring into the Town, there made good Cheer and thought of nothing but his Ease. In the mean time the Enemy, who had been well train'd in War, and had learn'd of their Leader *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, how to sustain such Shocks and Rencounters, laid hold on this occasion; for being us'd to fly before an Enemy, and to Face again, and Attack in
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one and the same Day those who had pursu'd them; and receiving Intelligence that *Hanno* was retir'd into the Town, and that the Soldiers, confident of their Victory, neglected their Duty in Guarding the Camp; they march'd forthwith down, and attack'd their Retrenchments, kill'd a great number, and constrain'd the rest shamefully to Retreat into the Town; taking all their Baggage, Engines, and Equipage of War. Nor was this the only Occasion wherein *Hanno* had given Marks of his Insufficiency; for this Disaster was follow'd by another, soon after, near a Town call'd *Gorza*. For, notwithstanding he lay incamp'd in the Face of the Enemy, and had it in his power totally to have subdu'd them; after having twice worsted them in Battel, nevertheless, by his Imprudence, the Opportunity was lost.

Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, dissatisfy'd with the Conduct of *Hanno*, gave the Command of their Army once again to *Hamilcar Barca* and dispatch'd him to the Field with Seventy Elephants, and all the Forreigners they could get together, with the Militia of the City, both Horse and Foot; amounting in all to about ten thousand Men. With this Army he marched against the Enemy, whom he surpris'd in such manner, that they were constrain'd to remove their Camp, and raise their Siege from before *Utica*; for which Action alone he was judg'd worthy of the great

great Character he had obtain'd in the World, and confirm'd the Hopes they had conceiv'd of his Success; and here we have an occasion to make recital of his Adventures during this Expedition.

On the narrow, or slip of Land, that joins *Carthage* to the Continent, stand two Mountains, almost inaccessible on the side that looks towards the Country; in those two Mountains there are two Ways or Passes made by Art, which lead into the Champaign. These Mountains were possess'd by *Masbo*, who had plac'd Guards in every needful place. Furthermore, the River *Macar* hinders all passage from *Carthage* into the Country on that side, which is so deep, as to be no where fordable; over which River there is but one Bridge, near which there stands a Village, which *Masbo* possess'd likewise, and guarded with great Vigilance; by this means, not only an Army could not pass, but even a single Man could hardly get passage undiscover'd of the Enemy: This was well consider'd by *Hanniblar*, who, having a watchful Eye every-where, lights, at length, on a Stratagem which afforded him the only means to get his Passage. He had remark'd, that upon the blowing of certain Winds, the Mouth of the River us'd to be choak'd up with Sand, which was wont to bank up in nature of a Bar, and afforded a kind of watery Passage over the River; he therefore march-

march'd his Army to the River's Mouth, where he halted, without communicating the reason to any Body, till those favourable Winds, we mention'd, should blow ; which no sooner happen'd, but he marcheth his Army, by Night, over the River ; without giving the least Suspicion to the Enemy : This Action (wherein he perform'd great Service, and thought to be impossible) was matter of great Astonishment, both to the *Carthaginians* and the Enemy ; and now *Hamilcar* gets into the Plains, and marcheth towards those that guarded the Bridge. *Spandius* receiving Advice of what had pass'd, gets before him, and marches on the one side with a Body of above Ten Thousand Men, which he drew out of the Town near the Bridge ; and on the other were at least Fifteen Thousand, which he order'd from the Camp before *Utica*, with purpose, by that manner of proceeding, to surround and hem *Hamilcar's* Army in ; under which hopes, the Soldiers became so attentive, that they punctually obey'd the Orders they receiv'd, and mutually animated each other to do their Duty as they ought. In the mean time, *Hamilcar* advances with the Elephants in his Front, then the Cavalry, with the light arm'd Foot, and those who carry'd Bucklers, in the Rear. But when he observ'd the Enemy to approach with Precipitation, and, as it were, without any Order, he presently chang-
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ed the Order of his Battel, commanding those who were in the Rear to advance to the Front; who marching with a compass, became oppos'd in Battel to the Enemy; who taking those Motions to be an effect of Fear, and a sort of Retreat, attack'd them with great Resolution, tho' without any Order. But *Hamilcar's* Horse were no sooner advanc'd, and those who follow'd them boldly sustaining them; and altogether coming to the Charge, when the Enemy who came in confusion, and in haste, began to fear; finding, so contrary to their Opinion, the Resistance that was made; which not being able to endure, they soon betook themselves to flight, one of their Parties encountring with another of their own, which was coming to their Relief, took them for Enemies in the Fright, and ingaging, defeated one the other; most of the rest were destroy'd by the Horse and the Elephants. In this Conflict there dy'd of the *Africans* near Six Thousand Men, and about Two Thousand were taken Prisoners; the Remainder, some got into the Town near the Bridge, and some into the Camp before *Utica*. After the Victory, *Hamilcar* pursues the Straglers every-where, taking the Town by the Bridge which the Enemy had abandon'd, and retir'd to *Tunes*; and forraging the Country round about, some Towns yielding to him out of Fear, others were reduc'd by force; by which means
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having, in a good degree recover'd the *Carthaginians* from the Fear they were under, being almost at the point of Despair; he gave them new Courage, and lent them more Assurance in danger.

In the mean time, *Matho*, who continu'd the Siege of *Hippona*, advis'd *Spendius* and *Autaritus*, who was Chief among the *Gauls*, to be careful not to lose sight of the Enemy, but to take care, however, not to be surpris'd in the Champion Country, by reason of *Hamilcar's* Superiour Strength in Horse and Elephants, but to keep the skirts of the Hills, and to march and incamp as near the Enemy as they could, and to take the advantage of attacking them, when they should perceive them at any time incumber'd or molested in their March; but while he gave them this Counsel, he forgot not to solicit the *Numidians* and *Africans* for Succours, and to incite them to make use of the present Occasion to recover their Liberty. So *Spendius* made choice of Six Thousand Men, out of the several Nations that were incamp'd at *Tunes*, to march, and attend the Motions of the *Carthaginians*, wheresoever they went; keeping, 'as he was advis'd, the Foot of the Mountains. He took likewise with him, the Horse of *Autaritus* amounting to Two Thousand *Gauls*, (all the rest of that Nation, who had serv'd at *Erix* under *Autaritus*, having taken Pay with the *Romans*.) And while

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Hamilcar was incamp'd in a Plain, surround-
ed on all sides with Hills, *Spendius* receives
Succours both of *Africans* and *Numidians*,
and resolves to attack the *Carthaginians*, by
surrounding them, appointing the *Numidi-
ans* to ingage in the Rear, the *Africans* in the
Front, resolving himself to fall on their Flank.
The *Carthaginians* were hereby reduc'd to
very great straits, looking on the Danger to
be almost inevitable. But it happen'd that
at this time there was a certain *Numidian* in
the Enemies Army, call'd *Naravasus*, a Man
of Account both for Nobility and Courage:
He had heretofore been of the *Carthaginian*
Party, on the account of the Friendship that
had been between them and his Father; and
now charm'd by the Vertue and Fame of *Ha-
milcar*, he was resolv'd to renew old Kind-
ness; and conceiving this a proper occasion
to put his Purpose in effect, he determin'd to
find out *Hamilcar*, and contract this new-de-
sign'd Friendship with him: Accordingly he
advanceth towards their Camp, attended on-
ly with about an Hundred *Numidians*; and
coming near their Lines, he there halts, and
with a noble Assurance, makes a Sign with
his Hand, that he had something to commu-
nicate with them. *Hamilcar*, not a little
wondring at the Hardiness of the Action,
sent a Horse-man out to him, to whom *Nara-
vasus* reply'd, He had something to say to
the General; but in regard the *Carthaginians*
shew'd

shew'd some Diffidence to trust him, *Naravasus* forthwith dismounts; and giving his Horse and Arms to his Guard; in that manner, naked and disarm'd, with a gallant Boldness, adventures into *Hamilcar's* Trenches. Every body wonder'd at the Bravery of the Man, but receiv'd him amicably, and freely discours'd with him; and being conducted to *Hamilcar*, he told him, He wanted not good Inclinations for the *Carthaginians* in general; but his Ambition was principally to ingage in a Friendship with him, which was the Motive that broughthim; which, if he approv'd, he should find him for the future, a faithful Friend, whether it were for Counsel or Action. This Discourse of *Naravasus*, and the Action it self, perform'd with so frank a Boldness, fill'd *Barcas* with unspeakable Joy, insomuch, that without the least shew of Distrust, he embrac'd the Offer; and not only made him his Confident in his most secret Negotiations, and his Companion in all his Enterprizes; but to purchase his Fidelity to the *Carthaginians*, he promis'd him his Daughter to Wife. And when the Conference and Treaty was ended, *Naravasus* joins *Hamilcar* with a Body of Two Thousand *Numidians*, with which Re-inforcement he offers the Enemy Battel. *Spendius* likewise, on his part, being strengthen'd by the *Africans*, marches against him, where the Battel was obstinately fought. The Victory was long

long in suspense, but *Hamilcar*, in the end, had the Day, whose Elephants did great Service; and *Naravasus* signaliz'd himself above all others. *Spendius* and *Antaritus* escap'd by Flight, about Ten Thousand of their Men being slain, and Four Thousand taken Prisoners. After the Battel, *Hamilcar* releas'd all the Prisoners that were willing to take Pay in the Army, and arm'd them with the Spoils of the Dead. As to those that were not willing to serve, he assembl'd them together, and there told them, That he freely Pardon'd and Remited their Fault for that time, and gave them their Liberty, leaving every one to his own Course; with this Caution only, That if ever they were taken in Arms against the *Carthaginians*, they were to expect no Mercy. During these Transactions, the Mercenaries that were in Garison in *Sardinia* mutiny'd likewise, after the Example of *Matho* and *Spendius*; and having shut up *Bostar* their Commander in chief, in the Citadel, they, at length, murther'd both him and all the *Carthaginians* with him. Whereupon the Republick sent a Re-inforcement of more Troops, under the Command of one *Hanno*, whose Soldiers likewise abandon'd him on their arrival, and join'd with the Rebels; and at the same time seiz'd on their Leader, and crucify'd him. They likewise barbarously murther'd all the *Carthaginians* they could find in the Island; and making

king themselves Masters of the strong Places, kept them in possession, and domineer'd till a Dissention happen'd between them and the Natives, who prevailing, chas'd them into *Italy*; so that *Sardinia* became by this means, entirely lost to the *Carthaginians*: An Island very considerable, as well by it's Greatness, and the number of the Inhabitants, as for the Fruits and Product of the Country. But in regard many have already largely describ'd it, I thought it unnecessary to say more on a Subject so well known, it being but so much time lost, to say over again what others have said before me.

And now *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Antaritus* foreseeing, that the Clemency which *Hamilcar* exercis'd towards the Prisoners, was like to have but an ill Effect on their Affairs; and fearing least the *Africans*, and their other Troops, in Prospect of Pardon, should desert them; and go over to the other Army, they resolv'd to commit some new Act of Villany; such as should put them past all hopes of Indemnity with the *Carthaginians*. So they assembled all the Army to a certain place, and while they were there, a Messenger purposely arriv'd with pretended Letters from those who had follow'd their steps in *Sardinia*, which Letters contain'd strict Injunctions to them, to be careful in guarding *Gesco*, and the rest of the Prisoners (who, as we have already noted, were treacherously imprison'd

at the Treaty of *Tunes*) inasmuch as there were some in the Army, who had undertaken to the *Carthaginians* to deliver them up. *Spendius* here takes occasion to admonish them, not to rely on the specious Humanity which *Hamilcar* seem'd to show to those who had fallen into his Hands; that it was the least of his Purpose to spare them, but by a feign'd Clemency, hop'd to draw the rest to Submission; to the End, that having them once at his Mercy, he might make one Example of Punishment for all; should they be insnar'd by those Allurements. He further proceeded to Counsel them, to take care not to be out-witted, and, neglecting their Duty, permit *Gesco* to escape; who being a principal Leader, and in great Authority, would prove one of their most dangerous Enemies. *Spendius* had hardly ended his Discourse, when a second Courier arrives, pretending to come from the Camp near *Tunes*, who brings Letters pressing the same matter that was contain'd in the others.

Upon this *Autaritus* applies to the Assembly, to whom he remonstrates, that their Safety and Success consisted purely in renouncing all those hopes of Pardon, to which the *Carthaginians* labour'd to perswade them; and that he, whoever he was, that should suggest any Assurance in the *Carthaginian* Clemency, should forfeit his Fidelity, and was no more to be trusted. He advis'd them,

therefore, to be guided by, and give credit to those who knew best how the *Carthaginians* would deal with them, and to hold them for Traitors and Enemies, who should attempt to perswade the contrary. When he had ended his Discourse, he gave his Opinion that they ought to put *Gesco* to Death; and not only those who were with him, but all such others as had fallen into their Hands since the War. This *Autaritus* was a very popular Man in the Army, and prevail'd much in their Assemblies; he was, moreover, perfect in the *Carthaginian* Tongue by reason of his long Commerce among them, as were many others under his Command; who, in their common Conversation, seldom spake in any other Language. This Officer was therefore listen'd to with general Applause, and the Assembly was unanimously prevail'd with, to consent to his Proposition. Howbeit, there were some of every Nation, who join'd in their common Request, That, in regard of the many Benefits they had receiv'd at the Hands of *Gesco*, he might have the Favour only to suffer Death, without putting him to Torment; but in regard their Discourse was confus'd and in several Languages, it was not understood what they demanded; and now it being known what was determin'd, one of those there present demanded aloud, That they should forthwith execute the Sentence; whereupon immediately all the *Carthagi-*

nian Prisoners that were at hand, were
 ston'd to Death, who some time after were
 buried by their Relations, as if they had been
 kill'd and torn by wild Beasts. Then *Spen-*
dus order'd *Gesco* to be brought forth out of
 the Camp, together with the other Prisoners
 that were with him, to the number of Seven-
 ty Persons; and being led some distance off,
 they first cut off their Hands, beginning with
Gesco, whom just before they had own'd for
 their Benefactor, and whom they had made
 Choice of to be Umpire of their Differences,
 then by degrees they Dismember'd them,
 and after they had cut off their Legs, they
 threw them yet alive into a Ditch. The *Car-*
thaginians, upon receiving Intelligence of this
 Savage Piece of Cruelty, justly deplor'd the
 Calamities of those Miserable People, and
 sent to *Hamilcar* and *Hanno*, who was the
 other General, exhorting them to lay the
 Distresses of the Commonwealth to Heart,
 and to do their utmost to revenge the Death
 of their Fellow-citizens, by the Destruction
 of their Murderers. Heralds were likewise
 dispatch'd to the Enemy to demand the Bo-
 dies of the Dead, who were so far from de-
 delivering them, that they advis'd them to
 send no more Messengers or Ambassadors,
 assuring them that the first who came should
 share the Fate of *Gesco*. In a word, they
 now agreed to Treat all the *Carthaginians*
 that should for the Future fall into their

Hands, with the like Inhumanity, and such of their Allies as should be taken, they would cut off their Hands, and so send them back to *Carthage*; which cruel Determination they afterwards rigorously executed. Certainly, whosoever shall weigh things rightly, will conclude, that as there are Maladies and Ulcers in Human Bodies, that may arrive to such a head of Malignity as to be past all Cure; so the Spirits and Minds of Men are obnoxious to the like Distempers. In short, there are Sores and Biles in our Bodies which will fester under the use of proper Remedies, and yet if Applications are neglected, they spread and prey upon the part affected, and as they grow in Malignity, come at length to consume the whole Body; not unlike to these, there often happens to grow Diseases in the Mind, which arrive at such Inveteracy, that one may with Justice conclude, Savage Beasts themselves come short of them in Rage and Cruelty. Such as these if you treat them with Humanity, grow into greater Jealousie, and confide in you less than before, interpreting your Lenity an effect of Art and Cunning, and become thereby most inrag'd with those who discover the greatest Inclination to Clemency. If on the other Hand, you resent their Barbarities, and pay them in their own Coin, they then make Ostentation of their Wickedness, and there is no Crime or Inhumanity, how impious or abomi-

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minable soever, that they will scruple at, till at length they cease to be Men, and are Metamorphos'd into Savage Beasts. And though it cannot be gainsaid, but this Imperfection of the Mind grows out of ill Manners and bad Education; nevertheless, there are other Causes that minister to the Growth of this Evil, whereof the greatest are the Injuries and Avarice of Magistrates and Men in Authority, whereof we have a bloody Example now before us; the truth of which was made manifest as well in the Soldiers as their Officers.

Hamilcar greatly provok'd at these Barbarities, order'd *Hanno* to join him, concluding, that by uniting all their Troops into one Body, they should soon put a Period to the War. And now, contrary to his Custom, he put all of the Enemy to death, who fell into his hands; and if at any time Prisoners were brought into the Army, he ordered them without Mercy to be devoured of wild Beasts; being at length convinc'd that the only Remedy to the Evils under which they suffer'd, was, to extend no Compassion to the Offenders; but, to diminish and utterly destroy them, by all means possible. But, while the *Carthaginians* were in these fair hopes; when Success every-where attended their Arms, and they had reason to expect a favourable Issue of the War, behold a Caprice of Fortune, who changing Face, turn'd the Tide

of their Affairs. The two Generals had no sooner united their Armies, but they fell at Difference between themselves, which bred such evil Effects, that by that means, not only many fair Occasions were lost of molesting the Enemy, but Opportunities given to them, to damnify the *Carthaginians*; which being observ'd and weigh'd by the State; one of them was directed to quit his Command; and who should remain in Authority, to be left to the Election of the Army. Another Misfortune, likewise, beset them; about that time, a Convoy of theirs coming from a City call'd *Emporium*, wherein they had great Reliance for Supplies, as well of Provisions, as other Stores for the Army, was lost by Tempest at Sea. As to *Sardinia*, which had ever yielded them great Relief in their straits; that, as we have already noted, was totally lost. But, to fill the Measure of their Adversity, the two Cities of *Hippona* and *Utica*, who alone, of all the Towns of *Africa*, had, till that time, preserv'd their Fidelity, and not only during this War, but in the time of *Agathocles*, and even when the *Romans* made their Descent on *Africa*, had continu'd faithful, and never manifested the least Inclination of Revolt, now abandon'd them; and were not content, barely to take part with the *Africans*, without any apparent Motive, but link'd themselves, to their Fortunes, in a League of fast Friendship and Alli-

Alliance; and grew into mortal Hatred against the *Carthaginians*; which they witness'd by Murdering five Hundred of their Soldiers, with their Officers, who were sent to their Relief, after they had receiv'd them into their Towns, and afterwards cast their dead Bodies over the Walls: In short, those two Places gave themselves up entirely to the *Africans*, expressing so great an Aversion to the *Carthaginians*, that when they sent Ambassadors to them for leave to Bury their Dead, they refus'd them. So that now, *Matho* and *Spendius*, exalted with the Accession of so much good Fortune, form'd a Design of laying Siege to *Carthage* itself.

During these things, the *Carthaginians* dispatch'd *Hannibal* to the Army, after they had maturely deliberated about the matter of Difference that had happen'd between the two Generals, and had declar'd it was expedient that *Hanno* should relinquish his Authority. Then *Hamilcar*, with *Hannibal* and *Naravafus*, made Inroads into the Country, and cut off all the Enemies means of Subsistence, in which Service *Naravafus* was eminently useful, as he did in every thing greatly serve them: And this was the State of their Troops that kept the Field.

In the mean time, *Carthage* itself being block'd up and inclos'd on all sides, they were driven to have recourse for Succours

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to their Friends and Confederates; *Hiero* King of *Siracuse*, who was their fast Friend, and having diligently suppli'd them with whatever they demanded, during the whole War, gave them now in their greatest Straits, the best Evidence of his Friendship; and this he wisely saw, to be his safest Course, as conducing to the better Support of his Power in *Sicily*, and the Conservation of his Alliance with the People of *Rome*, foreseeing, that if *Carthage* were not preserv'd in a State to give them Jealousie, it might be his Lot one Day, to lye at their Mercy, without any Prospect of Redress.

Herein, I say, *Hiero* did, without question, proceed like a prudent Prince, it being in no wise safe, to let a little Mischief grow to a head; but, to prevent, by all means possible, the exorbitant Increase of a Neighbouring Prince's Power; lest, when it shall be too late, you find it past your Ability to withstand him, when your own proper Interest shall come to be Contested. On the other hand, the *Romans*, pursuant to the Treaty of Peace, were not wanting in any thing to the *Carthaginians*; though there soon happen'd a Difference between those two States. In brief, the *Carthaginians*, at the beginning of this War, had seiz'd and made Prize of all Vessels that traded from *Italy*, to the Coast of *Africa*, who for Lucre suppli'd their Enemies

mies with whatsoever they wanted. And now having in their Custody at least Five Hundred Prisoners of that Nation, the *Romans* stomach'd it, and began to give evidence of their Indignation thereat. But, this Point was soon compos'd, for as soon as they signifi'd their Resentment by their Ambassadors, the *Carthaginians* restor'd the said Prisoners in so frank a Manner, that they on their side, not to be behind hand in Curtesie, forthwith enlarg'd without Ransom all the *Carthaginian* Prisoners, which yet remain'd of those who had been taken, during the *Sicilian* War. Furthermore the *Romans* readily granted them whatsoever Assistance they demanded; they permitted their Merchants to supply *Carthage*, with every thing they stood in need of, and Prohibited all manner of Commerce with their Enemies. Moreover, they rejected the Overtures made by the Ambassadors of those who had revolted from the *Carthaginians* in *Sardinia*, and were in Possession of the Island, though they offer'd to put it into their hands; and to give farther Evidence of their Sincerity, they refus'd the Tender the People of *Utica* made them, who would have freely given them their City; so that the *Carthaginians*, thus aided, bore the Hardships of the Siege the more chearfully. In the mean time *Matho* and *Spandius* both besiege, and are besieg'd, being reduc'd to so great straits for Provision, and
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all other Stores and Necessaries, by the good management of *Hamilcar*, that, in the end, they were constrain'd to rise from before the City, and selecting out Fifty Thousand of the choicest Men in their Armies, with whom there join'd a Man of note, call'd *Zarxas*, at the Head of his own People; with which Army they march'd to incounter the Enemy, and observe the Motions of *Hamilcar*; keeping, however the Skirts of the Hills, out of fear of the Elephants; and the Horse of *Naravasus*, still using their utmost Industry to keep Possession of those Fastnesses; and tho' in Courage and Hardiness they were equal to the *Carthaginians*, nevertheless they were worsted, and came by the loss in all their Rencounters, as being under worse Discipline, and led by Commanders inferior in Skill and Sufficiency: And it was here demonstrated, how much the Wisdom and Knowledge of a great General weighs against Strength and Number; for *Hamilcar*, like an Artful Gamester, first draws them in to Pickeer, and ingage in small Parties, and so by degrees, diminish'd them; and whenever they came to a Battel, what by his Skill in laying and contriving Ambushes, and otherwise, he cut off great numbers of them. Furthermore, he never permitted them to be at rest, but alarm'd them Night and Day, and ever contriv'd it when they least expected it: And such as fell alive into his Hands, he gave to
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be devour'd by wild Beasts. At length, surprising them in a place where they were greatly incommoded, and where he could lie at his ease, there he besieg'd them in their Camp, at a time when they thought themselves most secure, where he so straiten'd them, and brought them to such Extremity, that they came both to want Resolution to give him Battel, and were without all possible means to get out of his Hands; to such Hardships were they driven, that they came to devour one another; an Instance of the Divine Justice, to chastise the Inhumanity they themselves had practis'd. They were afraid to come to a Battel, knowing, that whosoever fell into their Enemies Hands, was sure to suffer Death by the most exquisite Torments; and they despair'd of any Terms by Treaty, conscious of the Guilt of so many abominable Crimes; they therefore determin'd to abide the utmost Extremity, and to exercise that Cruelty, one among another which they had heretofore practis'd on their Neighbours, and so to attend the Arrival of those Succours, which they had been made to hope were coming to them from *Tunes*.

But when they had spent all their Prisoners, with whose Bodies they had been sustain'd, and their Slaves were likewise almost consum'd in the like horrid Repast; and receiving no News from *Tunes*, and the Army, subdu'd by the Sharpness of their Sufferings,

serings, beginning to look with an angry Eye on their Leaders; *Spendius*, *Autaritas*, and *Zarxas* began to form Designs of yielding themselves up, and so to enter upon Treaty with *Hamilcar*; whereupon, demanding, by a Trumpet, a Passport for Persons to be sent on a Treaty, they themselves, among others, went and put themselves into the Hands of the *Carthaginians*, to whom *Hamilcar* propos'd the following Conditions: *That the Carthaginians should make choice of Ten Persons out of the Enemies Army, of what Condition soever, and that the rest of the Army should be disarm'd, and dismiss'd in their Shirts.* These Conditions being agreed to, *Hamilcar* then declar'd, That, pursuant to the Articles of Agreement, he made choice of those there present; so the Number was compos'd of *Autaritas*, *Spendius*, and the rest of their chief Officers. But when the Army was given to understand, that their Commanders were detain'd, knowing nothing of the Agreement that was accorded between them, they took for granted, they had been betray'd. Whereupon, in a tumultuous manner, they ran to their Arms. But *Hamilcar*, being before-hand with them, drew out his Elephants, and with them, and the rest of the Army surrounding them, fell upon them, and cut them in pieces, to the number of Forty Thousand. The place where this bloody Service was perform'd, was call'd *Prion*, which

which signifieth a Saw; forasmuch as it bore resemblance to that kind of Instrument.

After this famous Defeat of their Enemies, the *Carthaginians*, who were driven almost to Despair, began to take Heart, while *Hamilcar*, with *Hannibal* and *Naravafus* forrag'd and scour'd the Country; and the News of the Victory being dispers'd, dispos'd many of the *Africans* to come into the *Carthaginian* Army; and most of the Towns round about to return to their Obedience. After this, they take their March towards *Tunes*, where they besieg'd *Matho*. *Hannibal's* Quarter was on that part that regards *Carthage*, and *Hamilcar's* on the opposite side; As soon as their Army was incamp'd, they led out *Spendius* and the rest of the Prisoners; and bringing them near the Walls of the Town, they there crucify'd them in view of the Enemy. But *Matho* having observ'd, that *Hannibal* did not keep so good a Guard in his Camp as he ought, sally'd out, and attack'd his Quarters; where killing many of his People, he put the rest to flight, pillag'd his Camp; and taking *Hannibal* himself Prisoner, forthwith order'd *Spendius* to be taken from the Cross, and *Hannibal* to be fix'd alive in his place, where he executed him with unspeakable Torments; then they chose out Thirty *Carthaginian* Prisoners, of the Noblest they could find; and placing them about the Body of *Spendius*, put them

them to death; as if Fortune had made a Compact with these two People, to give them Occasions of thus mutually exercising their Cruelty one on the other. *Hamilcar's* Post was so remote from *Hannibal's*, that the matter was past remedy, before he knew any thing of it; and tho' he should have receiv'd earlier Notice, the Difficulty of the Ground and Situation of the Place would have afford'd him but little hopes to relieve them. Whereupon he decamp'd from where he was, and came and posted himself along the Sea-side, near the Mouth of the River *Macheta*.

The *Carthaginians*, affrighted at this unlook'd for Loss, began to fall from their late Hopes; nevertheless, they omitted nothing that might evidence their Care for the Publick. Wherefore they dispatch'd Thirty of the Body of their Senate, together with *Hanno*, who had already commanded in this War, to *Hamilcar*; furthermore, they supply'd him with a Re-inforcement to his Army, with all they could pick up, that could bear Arms in the City. The Senators were instructed, above all things, to labour an Accomodation between *Hamilcar* and *Hanno*, and to dispose them to such an Accord, that the Commonwealth might not be sacrific'd to their Differences. Whereupon, bringing them together, after long Conference and Debate, *Hamilcar* and *Hanno*, became Friends,
and

and pass'd their Words to agree in all things for the common Good; and accordingly, afterwards, their Affairs were successfully manag'd, to the full Satisfaction of their Fellow-citizens. So that *Matho* was now often reduc'd to Despair; sometimes by Ambushes, sometimes by Surprizes, which frequently happen'd, as on an occasion near *Leptis*, and others; where in all Parties and Rencounters they still came by the worst. At length, they determin'd to come to a Battel, to which the *Carthaginians*, on their part, willingly agreed: The Friends and Confederates of of both Parties were drawn together; and their Garrisons were drawn out to augment their Armies, for deciding the Dispute; and when all things were in a readiness, the Battel was fought on the Day appointed, wherein the *Carthaginians* had the Day, and the greatest part, of the *African* Army slain on the place; some few that escap'd, got into a neighbouring Town, which soon submitted, where *Matho* was taken alive. Upon this Success, all the Towns in *Africa*, that had been under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*, return'd to their Obedience, *Utica* and *Hippona* only excepted, which continu'd in their Obstinacy; who being, indeed, without hopes of Favour, had no ground to demand it; for from the first of their Defection, they acted against the *Carthaginians*, so as to cut off all prospect of Pardon; which may

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serve for Instruction, how necessary it proves, even in those sort of Crimes whereof we have been treating, to leave some place for Moderation, and not to act beyond the power of Reparation. In short, *Hamilcar* setting down before those two Towns, reduc'd them, at length, to Mercy. And so ended the War of *Africk*, which had brought the *Carthaginian* State in so much Danger: And now they saw their Dominion restor'd, and the Authors of the Rebellion punish'd. *Matho*, and those taken with him, after they were carry'd in Triumph about the City, and treated with all kind of Ignominy, and us'd in the cruellest manner that could be invented, were, at length, tormented to Death. This War lasted three Years, and near four Months, and contain'd more Acts of Cruelty, and Inhumanity, than are to be found any where else in Story.

About the same time the *Romans* being solicited by the Mercenaries, who were beaten out of *Sardinia*, and were fled to them, determin'd to attempt the Possession of that great Island; but the *Carthaginians* having the Right of first Possession, would not endure the Injury; and in regard they were now preparing an Army to go over and punish the Infidelity of those Islanders; the *Romans* interpreting those Preparations to be against them, took thence Occasion to declare a new War on them. But the *Carthaginians*,
who

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who had but just laid down their Arms, and knew themselves to be much too weak, and no ways in a condition to wage War with them, found it their best course to submit; and did not only yield up their Right to *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, but bought their Peace at the price of Twelve Hundred Talents.

The End of the First Book.

Book 1 of 10

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It is divided into three chapters, each of which deals with a different aspect of the problem. The first chapter is on the history of the subject, the second on the theory, and the third on the practice. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It is divided into two chapters, each of which deals with a different aspect of the problem. The first chapter is on the theory, and the second on the practice. The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It is divided into two chapters, each of which deals with a different aspect of the problem. The first chapter is on the theory, and the second on the practice.

POLYBIUS's
General History
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

VOL. I. BOOK II.

WE have shown in our former Book, at what Time it was that the *Romans* first adventur'd on Forreign Expeditions, after they had compos'd their Affairs in *Italy*. We have related the Motives and Manner of their Transporting their Arms into *Sicily*, and upon what Grounds they made War on the *Carthaginians*, and contended with them for the Dominion of that Island

We have also noted the Time when the *Romans* first engag'd on Naval Action, and what occur'd during the Progress of the War, till the *Carthaginians* totally relinquish'd their Pretensions to *Sicily*, and their Enemies became Masters of it; all but what was reserv'd to King *Hiero*. Then we came to relate the Transactions of the War, made by the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries on their Masters, which was call'd the War of *Africk*. We have likewise, in that Account, given Examples of the utmost Degrees of the Barbarity of Human Nature, and told what was the Issue of so many Savage Actions, pursuing the Story to the end of that War, wherein the *Carthaginians* remain'd with Victory.

Now we shall proceed, according to our first Purpose, to set down subsequent Occurrences; For, the *Carthaginians* had no sooner compos'd their *African* Troubles, when they rais'd a new Army, the Command whereof was given to *Hamilcar Barcas*, with Direction to transport it into *Spain*, who taking his Son *Hannibal* with him, not then above nine Years old, cross'd the Sea, somewhere near the Strait of *Hercules's* Pillars, and began to lay the Foundation of the *Carthaginian* Greatness in *Spain*. Where, after he had commanded, for the Space of almost nine Years, and brought many Nations to yield Obedience to that Government; subduing some by Force, and winning others by Address; he

he at length ended his Days, in a manner worthy of the Greatness of his Name, being slain in Battel, bravely Fighting at the head of his Troops, against a formidable Enemy, that oppos'd him. Upon whose Death the *Carthaginians* gave his Command to *Asdrubal* his Kinsman, at that time General of their Gallies.

About the same time, the *Romans* transported an Army, and made their first Expedition into *Illyria* and the Parts adjacent. So that, whosoever would curiously Search into the History of the Growth of the *Roman* Greatness, is to have special Regard to that Part of their Story.

The Causes moving to this Expedition, seem to be these: *Agro*, at that time King of *Illyria*, Son of *Pleuratus*, surpass'd by much all his Predecessors in Power and Greatness, both by Sea and Land. He had promis'd *Demetrius*, Father of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, who had gain'd him with a Sum of Mony, to send Succours to the *Mydionians*, whom the *Aetolians* at that time had besieg'd, mov'd it seems thereunto, for that they refus'd to joyn with them, to live under the same Laws, whom they therefore had determin'd to Reduce by Arms. And having levy'd an Army from among that People, they declar'd War against those of *Mydionia*, whose City they greatly distress'd: attacking it with Machins and Engines of all sorts. During this Siege the

time drew near wherein the *Aetolians* were oblig'd to chuse a new Prætor ; but forasmuch as the Besieg'd were now brought to Extremity, and that there were hopes they wou'd soon Capitulate; the present Prætor, who then commanded the Army, remonstrated to the *Aetolians*, that in regard he had born the Toyl and Hazzard of the Siege, it seem'd but just, that he might be permitted to enjoy the Benefit of Disposing of the Booty, and the Honour of Taking the Place. But this Proposition found Opposers, especially among those who were Candidates in the new Election ; who perswaded the People by no means to consent to any Innovation in their Customs, but to manage their Affairs according to the Prescription of their Laws, and leave the Issue to Fortune. Whereupon, the *Aetolians* resolved to proceed to the Election ; allotting however, the Profit and Honour that was to be won, to be divided between him that now commanded, and the other who should be chosen.

Three Days after this Determination, was to be the Election, when the new Officer was immediately to enter on his Charge according to Custom ; but in the interim, there arrives a Fleet of a hundred small Vessels with a Re-inforcement of five Thousand *Illyrians*, who at break of Day landed secretly near the Town, and immediately put themselves in Order of Battel, according to their man-

manner ; and being form'd in several Divisions, they advanc'd towards the *Aetolians* Camp, who were much surpriz'd at the Hardiness of this sudden Attempt ; nevertheless, they lost nothing of their usual Assurance, and the Pride that is become habitual to that Nation ; for they rely'd on their Courage, and presum'd their Army was not to be beaten. They having many Troops heavy arm'd, and abounding in Horse, these they commanded to March out, and imbattel'd them in plain ground before their Camp. They likewise order'd their light arm'd Troops, and some Horse, to take Possession of certain advantageous Posts, and to seize on such Eminencies, as were not too remote from the Camp. And now the *Illyrians* advancing upon the light arm'd Troops, soon beat them from their Ground, as being more in Number, and marching in close Order. Then they forc'd the Horse likewise to retire, and winning the advantage of Ground, they charg'd those who were drawn up in the Plain ; by which means they were the more easily routed ; the Besieg'd likewise, at the same time made a Sally, and between them, the *Aetolians* were at length defeated ; many were slain on the Place, and many taken Prisoners, with great store of Arms, and all their Baggage. Thus, as soon as the *Illyrians* had executed their Masters Orders, and loaded their Vessels with Booty, they immediately

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ately embark'd again, and made Sail back to
their Country.

The *Mydionians* finding themselves thus
happily rescu'd, when they despair'd of Suc-
cour, call'd an Assembly of their Magistrates
to consult of their Affairs, and principally to
determine of the Disposal of the Booty;
where 'twas agreed, that the present Prator,
and he who was in Election for the ensuing
Year, should joyntly have the Authority in
the Distribution thereof.

This Adventure of the *Mydionians*, is a
sort of Lesson to the rest of Mankind, where
Fortune seems by a singular Instance to put
us in mind of her All-sufficiency; for when
they thought themselves ruin'd past Re-
demption, she then puts an occasion in their
hands whereby to deal to their Enemies the
self same Measure, which they had decreed
for them.

As to the *Ætolians*, who were thus sur-
priz'd and defeated; their Misfortune may
instruct us, not over-boldly to determine of
Events, and to let Doubt have a share in all
our Adventures, while there is a Possibility,
that things may fall out otherwise than we
expect. For, it behoves us in all the Trans-
actions of our Life, especially in Military
Matters, to remember, that we are at best
but Men, whose wisest Counsels can never
suffice to obviate the Fatality of such surpris-
ing Stroaks.

Upon

Upon the return home of King *Agro's* Fleet which he had dispatch'd on this Expedition, he fell into such a Fit of Joy at the Report his Captains made him of the Success of the Battel, and their having vanquish'd the *Aetolians*, a People held in great Esteem for their Valour; that falling into great Excess of Drinking and Revelling, to Celebrate the Victory, he was seiz'd by a Pleuresie, which soon put an end to his Days. After him *Tus* his Wife reign'd, and was govern'd by the Counsels of such Friends, as she had about her. But the Queen, according to the manner of her Sex, amus'd with the Joy of her present Prosperity, took no Thought for the future, and without any regard of Danger that might befall her from abroad; First permits her Subjects to practise Piracy, who made Prize of all they met with at Sea; then she fitted out a Fleet equal to that we have mention'd, with Command to the Leaders, to Treat all Nations as Enemies. Their first Enterprize was on the *Eleans*, and those of *Messene*, who stood most expos'd to the Incursions of the *Illyrians*: For that Country lying along the Sea-coast, and their Towns standing but thin, it was the more liable to their Attempts, it being hard to send at any time reasonable Relief wheresoever they should be invaded, by reason of the remoteness of their Succours: So that the *Illyrians* ravag'd all that Country with Impunity. From thence

thence they steer'd towards *Phanice*, a City of *Epyrus*, whether they went to Revictual their Fleet, when coming to Anchor in the Port, they there entred into Treaty with certain *Gauls*, who compos'd part of the Garrison, to betray the Town into their Hands, there being no less than eight Hundred of that Nation then in Pay in the City. The *Gauls* agree to their Proposal, whereupon they landed their Forces, and were receiv'd into the Town, plundering them of all they had, assisted in their Attempt by the said *Gauls*, then in Garrison.

The *Epirots*, upon receiving Intelligence of what had hapen'd, march'd forthwith to the Relief of the Place, and coming within a little distance of *Phanice* they incamp'd their Army, which they did in such manner, that the River which runs through the Town, serv'd for a kind of Retrenchment; and for their better Security, they took away the Timber of the Bridge, that gave passage over the said River. But receiving Intelligence, that *Scerdilaidus* was coming by Land, at the Head of five Thousand *Illyrians*, and intended to pass by the Straits of *Antigonis*, they thereupon detach'd a part of their Army thither, to secure that Place, while the other part lay idle in the Camp, careless of their Duty, and negligent of their Guard; spending their time in Riot and Feasting, toward which the Country (abounding) plentifully
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supply'd them; but for the Military Part, they set little by it, as holding that Profession in a sort of Contempt. Infomuch, that when the *Illyrians* got notice of this their Negligence, and that they had divided their Army, they march'd away in the Night, and repairing the Bridge, boldly pass'd over the River, and presently possess'd themselves of a secure piece of Ground, and there pass'd the rest of the Night, and in the Morning, by break of Day both Armies drew up in Battalia, where they fought in sight of the Town, in which Dispute the *Epyrots* were beaten; many were slain upon the place, and taken Prisoners, and the rest escap'd by taking the way towards the *Antitanes*.

After this Defeat, the *Epyrots* despairing of better Fortune, sent their Ambassadors to the *Aetolians* and the *Achaians*, to solicit Succours, who in Compassion of their Misfortunes, readily accorded them a Supply; and pursuant to their Promise, shortly after brought their Forces to *Helicranus*, in order to their Relief. The *Illyrians*, who were possess'd of *Phœnice*, advanc'd towards that Place likewise, in Conjunction with *Scerdlaidus*, and incamp'd not far from the Enemy, with Intention to give them Battel, but the inconveniency of the Ground prevented them. During these Transactions there came Letters from the Queen, containing Orders for their speedy return Home, to assist her against cer-
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tain of her revolted Subjects, who had join'd with the *Dardanians*. So, after they had spoil'd and plunder'd the *Epyrots*, they consented to a Cessation of Arms; and, pursuant to the Treaty, deliver'd back their Town and all the Inhabitants of free Condition that were in their Possession. But they embark'd, and carry'd away their Slaves and the Plunder; *Scerdilaidus* returning by the Straits of *Antigonia*. These Attempts greatly alarm'd all the *Greek* Cities upon the Coast; for when they consider'd, that so strong and important a Town of the *Epyrots* had been taken, so contrary to the Opinion of all the World; they began to take thought, every one for themselves, and were not now only in pain for the Country, but for their Towns and Cities. And now, who would not have thought, that the *Epyrots* should have consulted, how to be reveng'd for these Injuries, and to render Marks of their Gratitude to those who so readily succour'd them! but so it happen'd, that they did neither, But dispatch'd, forthwith, their Ambassadors to Queen *Tenta*, and enter'd into Confederacy with the *Illyrians* and *Acarnanians*, insomuch that they never after quitted their League with them, and continu'd in perpetual Enmity with the *Achaians* and *Æsolians*; by which Act, they gave at once manifest Evidence of their Ingratitude and Imprudence.

Who-

Whosoever fall into Misfortunes, which Human Reason or Foresight could not obviate, no Man can justly charge them with the Evil that they suffer, but attribute it merely to Fortune, and those who are the cause. On the other hand, when Calamities befall us, through our own Imprudence, we must be content to bear the blame. Therefore 'tis, that when we behold a miserable Man, made so, purely by the Malignity of Fortune, we cannot withhold our Compassion, and are so far from condemning him, that we minister to his Relief. But when our Miseries are the Fruit of our Folly and Obstinacy, we become justly the Reproach and Contempt of every wise Man. Now, who, that had ever heard of the Inconstancy and notorious Perfidy of the *Gauls*, would have deposited so important a Place in their keeping, where so many occasions were likely to occur to tempt their Fidelity! Furthermore, who would not especially have held that People in Suspicion, that were known to have been expell'd their Country, for their Breach of Faith towards their own Nation? Who, after being taken into the Service of the *Carthaginians*, where, on a Rumour, that their Mercenaries were likely to Mutiny for want of Pay, three Thousand of them that were in Garrison at *Agrigentum*, revolted and plunder'd the City; and afterwards being put into *Erix*, while the *Romans* laid Siege to

to that Place, attempted to betray it to the Enemy, and on discovery of their Treachery, deserted the Service and went over to the *Romans*; and soon after rifl'd the Temple of *Venus Ericina*: So that, at length, what for their Impiety, what for their Treachery, the *Romans* thought they could not do a more meritorious Act, than totally to expel them *Italy*; and, in a word, the Peace was no sooner concluded betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, when, disarming them, they caus'd them to be embark'd, and banish'd them entirely out of their Dominions. After what hath been observ'd, then, who can forbear blaming the *Epyrots* for giving up their Country, their Laws, and so rich, happy, and plentiful a City to the Custody of such a perfidious Nation? What Apology can be offer'd in their Defence, and who will not be oblig'd to confess, they were themselves the Authors of their own Calamities? This Reflection we thought was not amiss to make, touching the Imprudence of the *Epyrots*; to the end, we may be instructed in the Danger of committing the safety of a Town to Strangers, whose strength is superior to that of the Natives within it.

The *Ilyrians*, during their abode at *Phenice*, continu'd their Custom of Piracy, insulting over, and pillaging all such as traded from the Coast of *Italy*, where they plunder'd certain *Italian* Merchants; kill'd some,
and

and carried others away Prisoners. Whereupon the *Romans*, who had hitherto neglected the Complaints that had been made of these Outrages, being now alarm'd with new Clamours, coming from sundry Places at once, to the Senate, dispatch'd their Ambassadors to *Illyria*, *Cajus* and *Lucius Cornucanus*, to be rightly inform'd touching the Truth of these Reports. In the mean time, Queen *Tenta* beholding her Vessels on their return from *Epyrus*, loaden with so much rich Booty (for *Phanice* surpass'd all the Cities in that Kingdom in Wealth and Beauty) became greatly exalted and encourag'd by this extraordinary Success, and thereby the more strongly incited to enter into a War with the *Greeks*. Nevertheless it was respite'd for the present, in regard of some Troubles at that time in her own Kingdom, which were no sooner compos'd, when she laid Siege to the City of *Issa*, which alone had refus'd to yield her Obedience: About which time it was, that the *Roman* Ambassadors arriv'd; who being admitted to their Audience, set forth the Injuries that had been done. During their Discourse, *Tenta* treating them with great Pride and Disdain; in short, told them, She would take Care for the future, that no publick Injuries should be done to the People of *Rome* by the *Illyrians*; but that it was not the Custom of Princes, to forbid their Subjects to make their par-

particular Profits of what they met with in open Sea. The younger of the Ambassadors stomaching this Answer of the Queen's, with an Assurance truly worthy of a Roman, but at that time, perhaps, not so seasonable, thus reply'd, *It is likewise, Madam, the Custom of the People of Rome, to make themselves publick Reparations for Injuries done in particular, and to yield Succour to those that receive them: We shall therefore apply ourselves to Redress our own Wrongs, wherein we shall proceed in such a manner, that you will be soon oblig'd to change that Princely Custom.* Teuta being a Woman of a fierce Spirit, heard these Words with so much Indignation, that without regard to the Right of Nations, as soon as they departed, she order'd the Ambassador, who had us'd this Liberty of Speech, to be murth'rd. The News of which Violation, acted by this haughty Woman, was no sooner come to Rome, when they immediately prepar'd for War, and fell to raising of Troops and fitting out a Fleet.

Teuta, early the following Spring, dispatch'd another Fleet against the Greeks, more numerous than the former; one Squadron whereof sail'd towards *Corfu*, another towards *Dyrrhachium*, under colour of supplying themselves with Victual and Water, but with design to surprize the Town. The Inhabitants, on their arrival, suspecting nothing, imprudently admitted some of them
into

into the Town, under pretence of fetching Water : These having Arms conceal'd in their Water-vessels, were no sooner entred, when killing the Guards, they became Masters of the Gate. In the mean time, as it had been concerted between them, those who remain'd in the Ships, came to assist them ; so that by this Reinforcement, they were quickly Masters of the greatest part of their Works. And now, albeit the Inhabitants were but ill provided for such a Rencounter, and greatly astonish'd at so surprising an Attempt, nevertheless, recovering Courage, and standing on their Defence, they manfully attack'd the *Illyrians* ; who, after a long Dispute, were compell'd to retire. So the People of *Dyrrhachium*, who were on the point of losing their Town thro' their Negligence, preserv'd it by their Resolution ; and the Danger into which they were like to fall became a Warning to them for the time to come. The *Illyrians* hereupon put to Sea, and joyning with the other Squadron that was gone before, stood towards *Corfu*, where they landed, and sat down before the Town, filling all the Country with Terrour and Astonishment.

Those of *Corfu* being thus surpris'd, and driven almost to the point of Despair, dispatch'd, with all expedition, Ambassadors to the *Achaians* and *Aetolians*, those of *Apollo-*
nia and *Dyrrachium* arriving at the same time

to implore Succors, and beseech them not to permit the *Illyrians* to drive them out of their Country. They were favourably heard by those two People, who agreed together to dispatch ten *Achaian* Ships, well mann'd, and provided with all things necessary; and when they were ready, they made Sail towards *Corfu*, in hopes to be able to raise the Siege. But the *Illyrians*, having, according to their Treaty, receiv'd a Re-inforcement of ten Gallies of the *Acarnanians*, were got a-head of the Enemy, and engag'd them near *Paxus*. The *Achaian* Vessels that fought the *Acarnanians*, made it but a kind of a drawn Business, separating with little Harm done on either side, only some few Soldiers hurt. But it far'd otherwise with those who fought the *Illyrians*, who fastning themselves four and four together, proceeded after such a manner, as (seeming to be intangled) they might, by exposing their Broad-sides, tempt the Enemy to attack them in Flank, who, when they had boarded them, they by that Device over-pow'ring them with Numbers from the adjoining Vessels, enter'd on the Decks of the *Achaian* Gallies, and easily reduc'd them, taking four, and sinking one, with all her Men a-board; in which Vessel, was *Marcus Carenias*, a Man of great Reputation, who had all his Life long serv'd the *Achaians* with much Honour and Integrity. When those who were engag'd with the *Acarnanians*,

carnanians, saw the *Illyrians* had the better of the Battel, they retir'd from the Fight, wherein they were greatly further'd by the nimbleness and good-built of their Gallies, and so made the best of their way Home.

Upon this Victory, the Insolence of the *Illyrians* grew greater and greater, who now straiten'd the Town more than before; so that, at length, after some time of Defence, being depriv'd of all hope of Succour, they yielded it up, receiving an *Illyrian* Garrison, and *Demetrius* of *Pharos* for their Governour. After this Action, the *Illyrians* return'd to *Dyrrachium*, and laid Siege to that Place.

In the mean while, the *Roman* Consuls, *Cajus Fulvius*, with a Navy of two Hundred Sail, and *Aulus Posthumius* with a Land-army, set forth on their Expedition. *Fulvius* arriving at *Corfu*, was in hopes to find the Siege yet a-foot; and tho' he found the Town was surrender'd, and the *Illyrians* in Garrison, he resolv'd, however, to attempt something, as well to be satisfy'd how Affairs had been carry'd, as to endeavour after some Intelligence with *Demetrius*; being inform'd, That he was fallen into the Queen's Displeasure, and had sent to *Rome*, to make a Tender of the Garrison to them. Whereupon, those of *Corfu*, glad of the Arrival of the *Romans*, put themselves (by Consent of *Demetrius*) into their Protection, hoping they

should thereby be safe for the future, against the Outrages of the *Illyrians*. So soon as things were adjusted here, the *Romans* made Sail for *Apollonia*, having *Demetrius* for their Pilot. In the mean time, *Posthumius* embark'd his Land-army at *Brundisium*, consisting of about twenty Thousand Foot, and two Thousand Horse, who join'd the Fleet at *Apollonia*; which Town being put into their Hands, they departed for *Dyrrachium*, on Intelligence that the *Illyrians* had besieg'd that Place; who having notice of the *Roman* approach, rais'd their Siege, and fled, scattering for safety as well as they could; so that that Town being likewise taken into the *Romans* Protection, they advanc'd towards *Illyria*, subduing the *Ardyans* in their way. And now Ambassadors came to the *Romans* from divers Countries, among which, those of the *Parthenians* and the *Antitanes*; these offering to put themselves under the *Roman* Protection, were admitted to their Alliance. So they pass'd on to *Issa*, which the *Illyrians* had likewise besieg'd, but departed at the approach of the *Romans*, to whom the Inhabitants deliver'd up the City. Afterwards, coasting along the *Illyrian* Shore, they assaulted and took several of their Towns, among which, *Nutria*, where they lost their Quæstor, some Tribunes, and many Soldiers; but this Loss was repair'd, by the taking Forty of the *Illyrians* Vessels, which
were

were returning home loaden with Booty. As for those who had besieg'd *Iffa*, among whom were a Body of *Pharians*; these were well treated by *Demetrius*, and continu'd in his Service; the rest being scatter'd made their escape to *Arbon*. *Teuta*, hereupon, with a small retinue, retir'd to a strong Place call'd *Rizon*, situate a good Distance within the Country, on a River of that Name. And now, the *Romans* having put the greatest part of the *Illyrian* State into the Possession of *Demetrius*; and after having invest-ed him with great Authority, they return'd with both their Armies to *Dyrrachium*; from thence *Cajus Fulvius* departed towards *Rome*, with the major Part of both Armies; but *Posthumius* remain'd behind with forty long Vessels, and rais'd an Army from among the Natives, to the end, if there should be occasion, he might be in a posture of Defence; for they were not sure of the Fidelity of the *Ardyans* and others, who had put themselves under the *Roman* Protection.

Teuta, early the following Spring sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, with whom she made her Peace on the following Conditions, That she should be Tributary to the Romans, paying such a yearly Sum as they should think fit to impose: That she should relinquish, entirely, her Interest in *Illyria*, saving some few Places. And what was yet more considerable, and wherein the *Greeks* were principally con-

cern'd, *ſhe was not to Navigate beyond Liſſus with above two Veſſels, and thoſe unarm'd.* After this, *Poſthumius* ſent Ambaſſadours to the *Ætolians* and *Achaïans*, firſt to report to them the true Cauſe and Motives of the War, which brought the *Romans* into theſe Countries; and then to give them an Account of the Succeſs of their Arms; cauſing the Treaty of Accord made between them and the *Illyrians* to be publickly read: The Ambaſſadours having been receiv'd with due Honour, and entertain'd with all manner of Reſpect, return'd to *Corfu*; and by the Peace now made with the *Illyrians*, the *Greeks* were deliver'd from their Fears. For in thoſe Days, the *Illyrians* made no fair War with any particular People, but rob'd and pillag'd all Nations they met with. Theſe then were the Motives the *Romans* had firſt of carrying their Arms into *Illyria*, and thoſe Countries of *Europe*; and then was the firſt Intercourſe they manag'd by their Ambaſſadours, with the People of *Greece*. Afterwards they ſent Ambaſſadours to the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*, and then it was that the *Corinthians* ordain'd, the *Romans* ſhould have part in the *Iſthmian Games*.

While theſe things were tranſacted in thoſe Parts by the *Romans*, *Asdrubal* (for we were ſpeaking of him, when we broke off our Diſcourſe about *Spain*) govern'd his Province with great Wiſdom and Addreſs,

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performing infinite Services of extraordinary Moment to the *Carthaginians*, augmenting their Power especially by a City he caus'd to be built, which is call'd by some *Carthagera*, by others, the *New Town*. This City hath a very commodious Situation, whether we respect either *Spain* or *Africk*; but we shall have occasion else-where to speak more particularly thereof, and the Benefit accruing thereby to both those Countries. When the *Romans* came to understand, that the *Carthaginians* had acquir'd so great a Reputation in that Country, as to become formidable to the *Spaniards*, they resolv'd to attempt something likewise on that side; and concluding that the Growth of the *Carthaginian* Greatness was principally owing to their Negligence, who, by a profound Carelessness, had, as it were, slept away their Jealousie; they therefore determin'd to repair that Error, by their future Care and Vigilance. They did not dare, however, for the present, to exact any thing of the *Carthaginians*, that might appear hard and severe; nor declare a War with them, from the Apprehensions they were under of the *Gauls*, who at that time (as it was bruited) were preparing an Army to march against *Rome*. They resolv'd, therefore, for the present, to sooth and amuse *Asdrubal* by Art, that they might have the more leisure to deal with the *Gauls*. For they rightly judg'd, that while they

they should have that Enemy at their backs, it would be not only impossible for them to become entire Masters of *Italy*, but their City itself would not be out of Danger. Wherefore after they had concluded a Treaty with *Asdrubal* by their Ambassadors, by which the *Carthaginians* were oblig'd not to advance their Arms beyond the River *Eber*, without making mention of any other Countries of *Spain*, they prepar'd to attack the *Gauls* that inhabited *Italy*.

But before we come to speak of that War, we have thought it not improper to say something of the Nation of the *Gauls*, whereby to Conduct the Reader to a right Knowledge of those Matters which we purpose to deliver. It will also beget a better Connexion of the Parts of our History, to shew the Time when that People first planted themselves in *Italy*. In short, we have not only judg'd their Actions worthy Recording, and that they ought to be deliver'd to Posterity, but have concluded it necessary to our Purpose so to do. For, we shall learn by that means what sort of People it was that serv'd under *Hannibal*, and with what kind of Aids he sustain'd his great Design of Subverting the *Roman* Government.

But it seems fit first, to make mention of the Country, to the end that by being instructed in the Nature and Situation of their Towns, we may give a clearer Insight into the
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Principal Parts of our History. *Italy* then is in Form of a Triangle; that part which regards the East, is terminated by the *Ionian* Sea, and *Adriatick* Gulf: The Western and Southern Parts are bounded by the *Tuscane* and *Sicilian* Seas; and where these two Lines meet is one Part of the Triangle, here is a Promontory looking towards the South, which is call'd *Cothinthus*, which separates the *Sicilian* and *Ionian* Seas. The part which regards the North, and joins it to the Continent, is bounded by the *Alpes*, which take their beginning about *Marseilles*, and the Places bordering on the *Sardinian* Sea, stretching and extending from thence to the bottom of the *Adriatick* Gulf; if they do not reach quite as far as *Adria* beneath these Mountains, which Line makes the Base of the Triangle; there are spacious and fertile Plains ranging North and South, which terminate the Continent of *Italy*. These Plains which have likewise a triangular Form, (whereof the joining of the *Alpes* and *Appennine* Hills near *Marseilles*, make one Point) exceed in Fertility all other Parts of *Europe*. On the North they are bounded by the *Alpes*, extending above two hundred and sixty Miles in length; but the Bounds thereof towards the South, are made by the *Appennines*, containing in length about four hundred and sixty Miles; towards the Sea, where the Coast of the *Adriatick* make another side of the Trian-

Triangle, is computed from *Senagallia* to the bottom of the Gulf, in length about three hundred Miles. So that this Plain or Campaign Country contains in Circuit, little less than eleven hundred Miles.

Now touching the Fertility of *Italy*, it is hardly possible to set it forth : It abounds so much in Bread-corn, that very often, and even in our Days, the *Sicilian* Bushel of Wheat hath been sold for four *Oboli*, and Barley at two, and a Metreta of Wine at the same price : They have Plenty likewise of Millet and all other Grain, beyond expression. It may be judg'd also that they abound in Oak-mast, insomuch as the *Italians* breed infinite numbers of Swine, which are spent in their Sacrifices, and common Uses, and carry'd in Herds with their Armies. In a word, it will be seen, by what follows, how plentifully this Country is stor'd with all things necessary to Human Life, those who travel in these parts, never cheapen any thing in their Inn, but demand only how much they are to pay by the Head ; where you shall be very well treated for a quarter of an *Obolus* ; and it is seldom, or never, that they demand more. Their People are numerous, their Men proper and well-propotion'd ; and by their Actions, they make appear, that they are no less qualify'd for War. The *Gauls*, who are call'd *Trans-Alpine*, inhabit on the North side of the *Alpes*, about the
River

the River Rhone; the *Tauricks*, the *Agonians* and many other Barbarous Nations, live on the Skirts of the Plains we have been speaking of: Those *Gauls* differ nothing from the others, but because they inhabit on the other side of the *Alpes*, the *Italians* have given them that Appellation.

The very Tops of these Mountains are not habitable, by reason of the Difficulty of Access, and the perpetual Snow that covers them: The *Ligurians* live on the *Appennines*, and those Mountains towards *Marfeilles* that join with the *Alpes*; possessing likewise the other two sides that regard the *Tuscane* Sea and the great Plains; but towards the West they spread themselves as far as *Pisa*, which is the first Town in *Tuscany*; and on the Inland-side, as far as *Arrezzo*. Then we come to the *Tuscans* and *Ombrians*, their Borderers, who dwell on both sides the Mountains we have mention'd. From thence the *Appennines*, which are there distant from the *Adriatick* Sea, at least Sixty Miles, leaving the Plains, turn away to the Right-hand; and, dividing *Italy*, as it were in the midst, run, stretching along, as far as the *Sicilian* Sea: As to the Plains but now nam'd, where the *Appennines* turn off, they extend to the Sea, and advance as far as *Sienna*. The River *Po*, (so much celebrated by the Poets, who have given it the Name of *Erydanus*) hath its Source in the *Alpes*, about that part
which

which makes one Point of the Triangle. This River runs first towards the South, watering the Country lying under those Hills; and from thence falling into a level Country, it takes its Course towards the East, and by two Out-lets, runs into the *Adriatick*. It is the noblest and most useful River of the whole Continent of *Italy*, for the Waters that fall either from the *Alpes* or *Appennines* run thither. And as it is the greatest, so it is the most beautiful; its Streams swelling to their greatest height about the Month of *July*, when the Snows, by the excessive Heats are melted, and dissolve from the Mountains. Vessels navigate up this River, from the Sea, by the Out-let call'd *Olana*; from whence they sail, at least two hundred and fifty Miles into the Country. This River for many Miles together, preserves its Water in one Chanel; but as it approaches towards the Sea, by the accession of many other Rivers, it becomes divided into two Streams; and from the Country of the *Trigaboles*, it forms two Chanels, bearing two different Names; that of *Padua*, the other of *Olana*; where it makes the safest and most beautiful Port in all the *Adriatick*. The People of the Country call this River *Bodencus*. Other fabulous things spoken of it by the *Greeks*, namely, that *Phaeton* receiv'd his Fall into these Waters; of the Weeping Poplars; of the People going perpetually in Black, who inhabit there-

thereabout, to Commemorate the loss of *Phaeton*: And, in a word, the many other Stories that have been invented, are too Poetical, and in no wise useful to our present Purpose: Howbeit, we may have occasion to make Recital of them else-where, to be able thereby the better to prove, that *Timæus* was not sufficiently instructed in the History of this Country.

The *Tuscans* then heretofore possess'd all the Champaign Country, and at the same time were Masters of that which was call'd *Phlagria*, bordering on *Capua* and *Nola*. And as that People had with great Resolution, withstood those who Invaded them, they grew to have a mighty Name among Strangers, and acquir'd much Reputation for their Courage and Vertue. Hence it comes to pass that those who read the History of the *Tyrrenians*, are to be cautious how they judge concerning that People, by their present Possessions, and the Country they now Inhabit; but are to consider them by the Rule of those Times of which we now speak, and by the Authority and Power of which they were then Masters. The *Gauls* liv'd in their Neighbourhood, by which means they had Commerce together; but in process of Time, beholding so beautiful a Country with an avaricious and envious Eye, taking slight Occasion for their Motive, they rais'd a numerous Army, and attacking the *Tuscans* by
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Surprize, forc'd them to abandon all that Country bordering on the *Po*, and peopl'd it themselves. The *Laians*, and *Lebecians*, and those who border on the *Insubrians*, which at that time compos'd a mighty Nation, were the first that inhabited that part of the River, towards the East. The *Cenomans* live likewise on the Banks of this River; and all beyond, as far as the *Adriatick*, was possess'd by an ancient People call'd the *Veneti*, who spoke a different Language from the *Gauls*, but much resembl'd them in their Habit and Manners. The Tragick Poets have said many fabulous things touching this People. Beyond the *Po*, near the *Apennines*, inhabit, first, the *Anians*, then the *Bojans*; after these, towards *Adria*, dwell the *Egones*; and lastly, the *Senones*, living near the Sea-coast.

In a word, these we have recounted, were the principal Nations that possess'd the Country we have describ'd; they dwelt in Villages, open, and without any Walls; they had few or no Moveables, they slept without Beds, they eat Flesh, and their chief Employments were Husbandry and War, being totally ignorant of all other Arts and Sciences; their Substance consisted chiefly in Cattel and Gold; two Commodities that they could easily carry with them, whensoever, by any Accident they should be necessitated to remove: They understand making
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their Court, and the Art of acquiring Friends, which they greatly covet; for he among them, who hath most Friends, is most honour'd; and he who is most honour'd, is most fear'd, and hath most Power. Furthermore, they were not only Masters of this Country, but compell'd the neighbouring Nations, aw'd by the Fame of their Valour, to pay them Obedience. At length they made War on the *Romans*, whom, after they had vanquish'd in Battel, together with those that took part with them, they pursu'd three Days together; and took, at last, the City of *Rome* itself, all but the Capitol.

But it happening, that some new Adventures calling them home, the *Veneti* having march'd into their Country with an Army, they Accorded a Peace to the *Romans*, and, restoring their City, departed. Then they fell into Civil Dissentions; those of them who inhabited the foot of the Mountains, beholding the Prosperity of these, with an Eye of Envy, join'd to make War on them. In the mean time, the *Romans* recover'd strength, and enter'd into Alliance with the *Latins*. Thirty Years after the Taking of *Rome*, the *Gauls* made a second Expedition, marching with their Army as far as *Alba*; but forasmuch as the *Romans* were surpris'd by those sudden Motions of the Enemy, and had not leisure to receive Aids from their Allies, they did not adventure to march a-

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gainst them. Twelve Years after this, the *Gauls*, with a powerful Army, attack'd them again; but the *Romans* having now timely notice of their Purposes, and leisure to summon there Allies to their Assistance, march'd out to meet them, and offer them Battel; when the *Gauls*, out of Countenance at this their Bravery, began to waver in their Resolution, and grew, at length, to apprehend the Issue, and did not only not adventure to ingage the *Romans*, but secretly, by Night, rais'd their Camp, and fled as if they had lost a Battel: Then they lay quiet for the space of thirteen Years, when, observing the *Romans* Power daily to augment, they, at length, came to an Agreement with them, and enter'd into Articles of Peace.

After thirty Years of Repose, the *Trans-Alpine Gauls* took Arms again, but fearing the Success of the War, they compos'd the Difference by Address and great Presents, and remonstrating the Evil of making War among themselves, who were of one and the same Nation; a Pacification thereupon ensu'd, and they now labour'd to turn the joint Edge of their Courage against the *Romans*. They march'd their Armies, therefore, in one entire Body, through *Tuscany* (those in that Country having taken part with them;) and after having ravag'd the *Roman* Territories, and taken much Booty, they retir'd home without Molestation; where they were

were no sooner arriv'd, but they fell into Feuds about the Partition of their Plunder, which went so far, that it cost them the loss of the greatest part both of their Booty and their Army. And this is a frequent Folly of that People upon any Success, especially if they happen to have Disputes when they have drank Wine. Four Years after this, the *Gauls* and *Samnites* join'd their Arms, and made War on the *Romans*, giving them Battel in the Country of the *Clusians*, who are likewise call'd *Camartines*, where they made great slaughter of them. But soon after this, the *Romans*, inrag'd as it were by their Misfortunes, march'd against them with a fresh Army, and fighting with the same Enemy (having all their Legions in the Field) in the Country of the *Sentimates*, they got a memorable Victory, destroying the greatest part of their Army, putting the rest to flight, who retir'd back to their Country. Ten Years were hardly past, when the *Gauls* besieg'd *Arrezzo* with a mighty Force, whither the *Romans* came to the Relief, and fought them in View of the Town, but were worsted, and retreated. *Lucius* the Consul was slain; and *Manlius* succeeding, sent Ambassadors to the *Gauls*, to treat about the Redemption of their Prisoners; which Ambassadors were by them barbarously slain. This base Action of the *Gauls* greatly provok'd the *Romans*, who forthwith march'd with another Army

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against them, giving Battel to the *Senones*, who had the Assurance to encounter them singly ; but the *Romans* had the better, killing many of the Enemy, and compelling the rest totally to abandon the Country ; so they took possession of the Territory of the *Senones*, and this was the first Colony they planted in *Gaul*. It is call'd *Sena-gallia*, from the name of those *Gauls*, who before had held it : Of this Country we have already spoken, and shewn that it lies near *Adria*, on the Skirts of the Plains that are water'd by the *Po*.

The *Bojans* seeing the *Senones* expell'd their Country, and becoming apprehensive of the like measure, betook themselves to Arms, exempting none who were able to march ; and having drawn the *Tuscans* to their Party, they march'd against the *Romans* : And when their Troops on both sides were drawn together, near the Lake of *Vadimon*, a pitch'd Battel was fought, wherein the greatest part of the *Tuscans* fell on the place, and but few of the *Bojans* escap'd by flight. Nevertheless, the Mind of this People was not subdu'd, who, making a new League, united all their Forces, and arming all the *Gauls*, compos'd a fresh Army, with which they gave Battel again to the *Romans*, but they were entirely defeated and dispers'd ; and thus humbl'd, they now send their Ambassadors to the *Romans*, and had Conditions granted them. These Adventures pre-
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ceeded *Pyrrhus's* Invasion of *Italy* about four Years, and happen'd five Years before the Destruction of the *Gauls* at *Delphos*, as if some fatal Influence, charg'd with a Commission of Mortallity against this People only, had then reign'd ; so severely were they persecuted from all Quarters of the World. As for the *Romans*, they reap'd by the Contests they had with them, two mighty Benefits; namely, first, by a long Exercise of Arms in the many Conflicts they had with that People, wherein it was hardly possible for them to see or suffer more then beset them, they became admirably instructed in the Art of War ; and this they made plainly to appear in the ensuing Hostilities with King *Pyrrhus*. Furthermore, having thus tam'd and reduc'd this Savage Nation, they had the more leisure to attend their Affairs with that Prince, having nothing then to divert their Counsels or Forces ; and, in conclusion, they contested, by that means, afterwards, with more Assurance for the Dominion of *Sicily* with the *Carthaginians*.

The *Gauls*, after having suffer'd so many Losses and Calamities, remain'd quiet for the space of five and forty Years, preserving the Peace unbroken which they made with the *Romans* ; but after the old Men, and that Generation were extinct that had tasted the Hardships, and felt the Sufferings of former Wars, the young Men that succeeded them,

who knew nothing of Danger, and fear'd nothing from Fortune, had a mind to exercise their Courage, and with a generous kind of Assurance took to their Arms, and renew'd the War against the *Romans*, upon a very slender Motive, drawing their Allies into the Confederacy. This Design was first form'd and conceiv'd among their principal Men, who assembled, and consulted thereon, without imparting it to the People; insomuch, that when the Army of the *Trans-alpine Gauls* had march'd as far almost as *Rimini*; the *Bojans*, who were not well assur'd of their Sincerity, mutiny'd against their Officers, and attack'd the Army that had come thus far to join them; and having first kill'd their two Kings, *Ates* and *Gallatus*, they at length came to a Battel, wherein they mutually destroy'd each other. In the mean time, the *Romans*, who were surpris'd, and astonish'd, at the News of this new Eruption of the *Gauls*, took the Field with their Armies; and when they came to understand, that the Enemy were defeated by their own Swords, they proceeded no farther, but march'd home. Five Years after this Adventure, during the Consulship of *M. Lepidus*, the *Romans* made Division of the Lands taken from the *Senones*, in *Cis-alpine Gaul*, for *Caius Flaminius*, to make his Court to the People, had propos'd that Law, and had it receiv'd: But it may with good reason be averr'd, That 'twas this that
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first corrupted the Peoples Manners, and was the Cause afterwards of Civil Dissention among them. In short, many of the *Gauls*, and principally the *Bojans*, who had most cause of Fear, as being nearest Neighbours to the *Romans*, perceiving, now, that their Designs were not so much for Glory and Empire, as to subdue, and entirely exterminate their Nation and possess their Country, readily enter'd into the League that was now forming against the them.

The *Bojans* and *Insubrians* (who were the two greatest People on that side) pursuant to their Design, sent Ambassadors by common Consent, to the rest of their Nation, inhabiting on the other side the *Alp*, about the *Rhine*; these People are call'd *Gasates*, from their serving in the War for Pay; for so that word properly imports; and prevailing on their two Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Apercestus*, by means of great Sums of Money, and by the hopes they gave them of rich Booty that would be shar'd by this Enterprize, if they succeeded, engag'd them to join in a War against the *Romans*, giving them their Faith to assist and abide firmly by them; but the *Gasates* were not hard to be perswaded, And now, farther to incite them, they reminded them of the Glory of their Ancestors; who had not only vanquish'd the *Romans* in Battel, upon the like Expedition, but subdu'd and became Masters of their City itself,

and that being Lords of all the *Romans* held, kept their City seven Months in their Possession, and at length, freely, and of their own meer Motive, restor'd it to that conquer'd People, as an Effect of their Generosity, and afterwards return'd to their Country enrich'd with infinite Booty, without any Danger, Damage, or Impediment. These Discourses so animated the Leaders of the *Gasates*, and incited them so powerfully to the War, that it may be said, so great an Army never march'd out from among that Nation, nor braver and more war-like Men. In the mean time, the *Romans*, who were not without Intelligence of what was agitated among the *Gauls*, saw their Danger, and perceiv'd it at hand; and justly fearing the Consequence, apply'd themselves to the levying of Troops, and making Provision of all things necessary for the War, and march'd with their Armies to defend their Frontiers, believing them already invaded, when the Enemy had not yet mov'd from their Quarters. These Traverses greatly avail'd the *Carthaginians*, in the prosecuting their Design in *Spain*; for as we have already observ'd, the *Romans*, who were resolv'd to put first a Period to their Disputes with the *Gauls*, were constrained to yield to their Fears of an Enemy, whom they thought now in their Neighbourhood, and to postpone their Consideration of *Spain*, and their Af-

Affairs on that Side, till they should have first compos'd and settled those at home, and secur'd and establish'd the Commonwealth against the Danger that then threaten'd. Accordingly, the Treaty being ratify'd, which they made with *Asdrubal*, their Thoughts were entirely taken up with the present Enemy, where it was agreed by all, that the safest course, was to come speedily to a Battle.

In the mean time, the *Gæsates* having pass'd the *Alpes*, with a magnificent Army, furnish'd with all sorts of Arms, came and joyn'd the *Cis-alpine Gauls*, making their Rendezvous on the Banks of the *Po*. The other *Gauls* also came in after they had pass'd the Country that heretofore belong'd to the *Senones*; the *Insubrians* likewise, and *Bojans*, who continued in the same Opinion of prosecuting the War, joyn'd them; but the *Veneti* and *Cenomani* refus'd to be of the Confederacy, to whom the *Romans* had sent their Ambassadors, prevailing with them, to prefer their Alliance with them, to that of the *Gauls*; so that the Bordering Princes of that People, were forc'd by that means to leave part of their Forces to secure their Frontiers, and with an Army of fifty Thousand Foot, twenty Thousand Horse, and as many Chariots, they began their March towards *Tuscany*. The *Romans* having now Intelligence that the *Celtæ* had pass'd the
Alpes,

Alpes, dispatch'd with all Expedition the Consul *L. Emilius*, with the Legions to *Rimini*, there to make head against the Enemy, if they should chance to Attack them on that side. They likewise sent one of their Prators towards *Tuscany*, for the other Consul *C. Atilius*, was gone at that time to *Sardinia*, with part of their Troops. But do what they could, their Fears were great at *Rome*, where they had Reason to conclude their City was in Danger enough; and indeed, none will wonder at their Doubts and Apprehensions, who consider what Reason they had to bear in Mind the Calamities they had heretofore sustain'd by the Invasions of this Enemy. They drew together therefore their Armies, and levy'd new Forces, directed their Allies to have their Succours in a readiness, and order'd Muster-rolls to be brought from all parts to the Senate, of all the young Men capable of serving, to the End they might take a certain Measure of their Strength; likewise they fill'd up their Legions with chosen Men, and order'd them forthwith to March: Furthermore they made so great Provision of Arms, and all things necessary for the War, that there was no Record of the like Preparation in any Age past; in a word, every one did his utmost to prosecute and advance so necessary a Work. For the People of *Italy*, terrify'd at this Approach of the *Gaules*, did not Act at this time

as meer Allies of the *Romans*, to aid and further their Designs of Dominion and Glory, but thought of nothing now but of Fighting, for their own proper Safety, their Families, and Fortunes, so that they receiv'd with Chearfulness the Orders that were sent them from *Rome*.

And here it will not be amiss, to make an Estimate of the Power and Forces of that Commonwealth, which *Hannibal* shortly after had the Boldness to attempt, and what an Empire it was that he made the Object of his Ambition, and wherein he succeeded so far as to Reduce the *Romans* to the last Gaspe and Extremity of Fortune. Let us, I say, make a Computation of the Provision they made toward this War, whereby we shall perceive how far they had improv'd their Forces. With the Consuls there march'd four Legions, in each Legion were five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, with them likewise march'd the Succours of the Allies, amounting together to thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse: Furthermore, there joyn'd them of *Sabins*, and *Tuscans*, above fifty thousand Foot, and about four thousand Horse; these were all conducted to the Frontiers, under the Command of a Prator, to oppose the Enemy there. From the *Umbrians* and *Sarcinates*, who inhabit the *Appennines*, there came in to the Number of twenty thousand;
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the *Veneti* and *Cenomanei*, sent the intire Number they were order'd, to the utmost Borders of the *Gaules* Territories, to make Inroads on the Country of the *Bojans*, and to force those who were already departed to retire yet farther, and keep them from joining with the rest. In this manner, they had dispos'd their Armies on the Frontiers. But at *Rome* they kept a Reserve of Citizens, always ready to move, consisting of thirty thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with a Surplus of Troops of their Allies, of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. In the General Muster-rolls that were brought into the Senate, were found fourscore thousand Foot of the *Latins*, and five thousand Horse; of the *Samnites* seventy thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse: The *Japyges* and *Messapyges*, who had likewise joyn'd with the *Romans*, sent to their Aid in this War, fifty thousand Foot, and sixteen thousand Horse: The *Lucans* supplied them with thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse: The *Marsi*, *Marrucians*, *Ferentines* and *Vestines*, sent twenty thousand Foot and four thousand Horse. Furthermore, they had two Legions in *Sicily*, and *Tarentum*, consisting of four thousand two hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse each; and over and above all these, the ordinary People being muster'd in *Rome* and *Campania*, amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and three

three and twenty thousand Horſe; ſo that the Troops which depended immediately on the Senate, and were deſtin'd to the Guard and Preſervation of the City amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, or thereabouts. But the whole Body of their Strength conſiſted in no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, and ſeventy thouſand Horſe; and tho' *Hannibal* began with an Army of hardly twenty thouſend Men, he had nevertheleſs the Aſſurance to Invade and March into *Italy*, againſt this ſtupendous Force of the *Romans*: But this Point will be better clear'd when we come to Treat of thoſe Occurrences.

Upon the Arrival of the *Gauls* in *Tuſcany*, they ravag'd and plunder'd the Country without Controul, and from thence determin'd to proſecute their Deſign on *Rome*, and were now advanc'd near *Cluſium*, a Town but three Days March from the City, when News came, that the *Roman* Army that had been poſted on the Frontiers of *Tuſcany*, was approaching, and was almoſt got up with their Rear: Whereupon they ſac'd about, and march'd to meet them, full of Reſolution to come to a Battel. And now towards the Evening, the two Armies drew ſo near, that they were forc'd to incamp on the Ground where they were, leaving but a very ſtrait Space between their Camps: But when Night was ſhut in, the *Gauls* lighting their Fires in their
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Camp, departed: Leaving their Horse behind, with Orders to follow them the same way they took, with command at break of Day to shew themselves to the Enemy. In the mean time, they take their March silently towards *Fasula*, where they halted to attend the coming up of their Horse, and to Attack the Enemy by Surprize, if they should advance after them. In the Morning the *Romans* perceiving they were Retreated, and had left only their Horse, eagerly went on the Pursuit, taking for granted that this Motion of the Enemy was a sort of Flight. But they were no sooner advanc'd within distance, when the *Gauls*, who lay in ambush, began to appear, and a very sharp Conflict ensu'd, wherein the Boldness and Number of the *Gauls* prevail'd: Of the *Romans* there fell six thousand on the spot, the greatest part of the rest making good their Retreat, to a rising piece of Ground well situate for Defence, where they abode; the *Gauls* resolv'd presently to besiege them, but being now weary with Marching, and harrafs'd with the Service of the preceeding Day, they only left for that time a Party of their Horse, on the Guard at the Foot of the Hill, where the *Romans* were intrench'd, and retir'd to refresh and repose themselves, with Resolution the next Morning to attack and take them by Force, if they refused Conditions.

In the mean while, *L. Æmilius* who had been sent to *Rimini*, to Guard the Coast of the *Adriatick*, seasonably arriv'd: Who having receiv'd Intelligence that the Enemy had enter'd *Tuscany*; and farther, that they were advanc'd towards the City, he immediately march'd to join the other Army. And now approaching those who were intrench'd on the Hill discover'd them at a distance by their Fires, wherefore taking Courage, and disguising some of their People, they sent them privately through the Woods to give them an Account of the present Posture of their Affairs. The Consul *Æmilius*, having not now leasure for much Consultation, order'd the Tribunes to march with the Foot, by break of Day, while himself at the head of the Horse, speeds away directly towards the Hill; but the Principal Officers of the *Gauls*, who judg'd by the Fires they had seen over Night, that the *Romans* were arriv'd, held a Counsel, to debate, and determine how they ought to proceed: When the King *Aneroestus* advis'd them to consider, with Caution, what they did; he said, the Plunder they had taken, was already very great; their Prisoners and the Cattel, and other Booty of all sorts, was beyond all Computation; that on this Consideration, it seem'd to him that their best course was not to hazard a Battel, which might prove the total Ruine of their Affairs; that the safest Coun-
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fel they could take, was now to retreat, and march back to their Country, while they might do it with safety; where, when they had disencumber'd themselves of their Plunder, they might with ease return and ingage the *Romans*, if it were concluded reasonable. So this Opinion of *Aneroestus*, was approv'd and follow'd, and the *Gauls* decamp'd the same Night, taking their march along the Coast towards the Frontiers of *Tuscany*. *Emilius* having receiv'd into his Army those Troops that were incamp'd on the Hill, after the Defeat of the *Romans*, did not think it safe to give the Enemy Battel, but determin'd to keep in their Rear, and vigilantly take occasions of advantage upon them, and attempt to recover, at least, part of their Plunder. But behold, at this very time, the other Consul, *C. Atilius*, being return'd with the Army out of *Sardinia*, was leading them along the Sea-coast, towards *Rome*; who utterly ignorant of what had pass'd, happening to take the same way the *Gauls* did, and was marching not far before them. The Enemy was now arriv'd near *Telamena*, a Promontory of *Tuscany*, when some of their Forragers fell into *Atilius's* hands, who gave him Intelligence of all that had pass'd, assuring him, that both the one and the other Army were not far off, that the *Gauls* were at hand, and that *Emilius* was hard at their Rear. The Consul was a little perplex'd at the News; never-

vertheless, assur'd of Victory, by thus surprising the Enemy, and inclosing them between their two Armies, he order'd the Tribunes to draw up in Order of Battel, and to enlarge their Front as wide as the Ground would possibly permit; and now having observ'd an Eminence which commanded the Way by which the Enemy must necessarily pass, he goes himself at the Head of the Horse, and takes Possession of that Post; designing from thence, to give the first Attack, conceiving that the Honour of the Victory would thereby be in a great degree ascrib'd to him; but the *Gauls* (who knew nothing of the Arrival of *Atilius*) believing that *Emilius's* Horse had got before them in the Night, and had possess'd those advantageous Posts, commanded their Horse, and some choice Men of their Foot, to march, and beat them from that Ground; but receiving Intelligence, by certain Prisoners, that *Atilius* was there, they form'd their Battel of Foot in such manner, as to be able to receive the Enemies Charge in Front and Rear; for they were assur'd, the one Army pursu'd them, and the other would not fail to Attack them in Front. This at least they strongly conjectur'd, both by the Intelligence they had receiv'd, and by the Countenance and Actions of the Enemy.

The Consul *Emilius* had been inform'd that the Legions were landed at *Pisa*, but he

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could not hope they were arriv'd so near; but as soon as he perceiv'd the Dispute upon the Hill, he took for granted his Colleague was now at hand, whereupon he sent a Party of Horse to sustain them, and after having form'd their Foot according to the *Roman* Discipline, they mov'd toward the Enemy. The *Gauls* plac'd the *Gæsates* in their Rear, believing that *Æmilius* would find them Work there; next to them were posted the *Insubrians*; in the Front were the *Taurisques*, and those that inhabit beyond the *Po*. Thus the two Bodies being drawn up, Rear to Rear, they fac'd likewise toward *Atilius*, to receive his Charge. All their Chariots and Baggage were dispos'd on the Wings. Their Plunder they had carried to a neighbouring Hill, where they left it under a good Guard. So the Army of the *Gauls* being drawn up, I say, facing two ways, was not only terrible to behold, but were in effect form'd in the most proper manner, to receive the Attack. The *Insubrians* and *Bojans* ingag'd, cloath'd only in thin and light Garments; But the *Gæsates* (such was their Fool-hardiness, and Opinion of their Strength) stripping themselves naked, march'd in that manner in the Front of the Battel, brandishing their Swords; conceiving that in that Equipage they should not be only able to use their Arms with more freedom, but being eas'd of their Garments, they should find

find less Impediment from the Bushes and Briers that might molest them in time of Action. The first Dispute was on the Hill we mention'd, where great Bodies of Horse fought and attack'd each other, mingling and fighting without any Order. Here *Attilius* the Consul, ingaging too far, was slain, whose Head was immediately carried to the *Gaulish* King. But this did not at all dishearten the *Roman* Horse, who maintain'd their Post, and repuls'd the Enemy.

And now the Foot came to join Battel, where the manner of the Encounter was not only violent and terrible to those who were ingag'd, but also, will always appear so, to such as shall hear the Relation; and to whose View the Pen of the Historian shall Describe it. In a word, where three Armies were thus ingag'd, who will not conclude, but the Spectacle of such a Battel, and the Fashion of the Contest, was wholly new and surprizing? Furthermore, who would not at this Day judge, or, who would not then have concluded, that the Manner and Order wherein the *Gauls* were drawn up, would not either prove fatal to them, as being to receive an Enemy in Front and Rear; or that it ought to contribute to the Victory, as having two Armies to deal with, they had order'd it so, that dividing their Army, one part thereof sustain'd the other, whereby the Enemy could never attack their Rear? Over

and above, all Temptations of Flight were by that means taken away, for they could neither go forward, nor retire, and in case they should happen to be vanquish'd, they were bereft of all means of Escape, which is an advantage only to be found, when an Army is so form'd, fronting two several ways. The *Romans* were not however without their Reasons to expect Success, who had their Enemy surrounded and hemm'd in on all sides; while on the other hand, the formidable Appearance, and the tumultuous Noise of the *Gallick* Army, gave them Terror enough: For, besides the mighty Sound of their Instruments, and other Martial Instruments wherein they abound, the Shouts and Clamours of their Soldiers was so great, that not only their Instruments and their Men, but the adjacent Hills that environ'd them, seem'd to eccho and resound the Noise. Moreover, the Countenance and Behaviour of those who march'd naked at the Head of their Army, was a Sight entirely new; those Gyant-like Men, strong and well fashion'd, in the prime and strength of their Age, where you beheld none in their first Ranks, who were not adorn'd with Chains, Collers; and Bracelets of Gold: In a word, as this extraordinary Spectacle could not but give the *Romans* Terror, so the hope of such a Booty lent them Assurance also.

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When the light arm'd Troops were advanc'd after the *Roman* manner, a good distance before the Army, had begun the Battel by a shower of Weapons they cast at the Enemy, the Garments of the *Gauls*, who were in the second Ranks, did in some sort defend their Bodies: But it far'd otherwise with the *Gæsates*, who fought naked in the Van; for these finding their Entertainment quite contrary to what they expected, knew not how to behave themselves, or what course to take; for the *Gauls* Bucklers being small, never cover their Bodies entirely, at best; so that these Men, who were of the largest Size, were by that means the less defended, insomuch, that few Darts were cast at them without effect; and now being thus gall'd, and not able to defend their Bodies against those, who, at a distance attack'd them, they grew, at length, inrag'd, and desperate of their Safety; some threw themselves headlong on the Enemy, where they found present Death: Others retiring by little and little, as they were able, manifested their Fear by their Retreat, troubling and disordering the Ranks in their Rear. So the *Roman* Javelins were too hard for the *Gæsates* Courage, and abated that vain Confidence of theirs, which was, indeed, the best part of their Soldiership. But now the *Roman* Cohorts advanc'd, after they had order'd their light arm'd Parties to retire into the Intervals,

tervals, and soon came to the Swords point with the *Insubrians*, *Tauriscans*, and *Bojans*, who fought it out with great Resolution; and tho' they were press'd hard, and the Dispute was very bloody, nevertheless, they sustain'd the Shock, and kept their Post, and may be truly said to be inferior to the *Romans*, only in their Arms, which were not, by much, so serviceable in Battel as the others. For the *Roman* Bucklers are made so, as to cover their whole Body, and their Swords much more proper for Service; while those of the *Gauls* were only barely for cutting. At length, the *Roman* Horse, that had been engag'd on the Hill, came down, and attack'd the *Gauls* in Flank, wherein they perform'd singular Service; in short, the *Gauls* were beaten, forty thousand slain, and ten thousand taken Prisoners; among whom was *Concolitanus*, one of their Kings, *Aneroestus*, the other King, with a small Party, escap'd by Flight to a certain Village, where, soon after, he kill'd himself, as did the rest who were with him. The Consul, *Emilius*, order'd the Spoils of the Enemy to be secur'd, which were sent to *Rome*; but whatsoever had been taken from the Country, he order'd to be restor'd: Then he march'd the Army along the Confines of *Tuscany*, and fell on the Lands of the *Bojans*, where, after he had glutted the Soldiers with Plunder, he led the whole Army back to
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Rome; where he adorn'd the Capitol with the Ensigns he had taken, and hung up their Collars, and Bracelets, and Chains of Gold, reserving the rest of the Spoils, and the great number of Prisoners, to adorn his Triumph, when he should make his Entry into the City. Behold, now, the Success of this mighty Expedition, which had threaten'd the People of *Italy*, especially the *Romans*, with so dreadful a Storm. After this Victory, the *Romans* began to be in hopes they should be able to force the *Gauls* out of all the Country bordering on the *Po*. The two succeeding Consuls, *Q. Fulvius*, and *Titus Manlius*, marching against them, with an Army well provided of all things necessary; whereupon the *Bojans*, on their first Attempt, were affrighted into Submission, putting themselves under the *Roman* Protection: But it happen'd to be a Season of great Rains, and the Plague likewise having infected their Army, nothing afterwards memorable was perform'd in that Expedition.

The Consuls, who succeeded them, *P. Furius*, and *C. Flaminius*, march'd with their Armies into the Territories of the *Gauls*, by the Frontiers of the *Anamures*, a People who inhabit not far from *Marseilles*, by whose Friendship, which they had gain'd, the Consuls had liberty to pass against the *Insubrians*, on that part where the River *Ada* runs into the *Po*; where being attack'd by the Enemy,

both at the Passage of the River, and where they were about to incamp, they were not able to perform any thing to purpose at that time; entring, therefore, into Treaty with that People, they retir'd out of their Territory. Afterwards, having a long time march'd too and fro, about the neighbouring Country, they pass'd the River, and came into the Lands of the *Cenomani*, who were their Allies, with whom joining, they fell a second time on the *Insubrians*, where they made great Spoil. Whereupon the Princes of that People, observing there was no end of the Molestation the *Romans* gave them, determin'd, at length, to put all to the hazard of a Battel; accordingly, having assembl'd and rendezvous'd all their Troops in one certain place, they possess'd themselves of all the Treasure, Jewels, and Gold belonging to the Temple of *Minerva*, and by them call'd Immoveables, with which they made provision of all things they needed to further their Design; and being now well provided, they march'd chearfully against the *Romans*, and incamp'd in their view, with an Army of fifty thousand fighting Men. The *Romans* plainly saw, the Enemy much exceed'd them in number, and were therefore thinking to re-inforce their Army by an Addition of those *Gauls*, who were in Amity with them; but when they consider'd the Faithlessness of that People in all their Treaties and

and Negotiations, and that those, whose Aids they were to use, were of the same Nation with the others against whom they were to draw their Swords; they cou'd not therefore determine to trust them in an Affair of so mighty importance. Wherefore, they found this Expedient; they order'd the *Gauls*, their Allies, to pass the River, remaining with their own Army on the other side, then demolishing the Bridge, the River not being fordable, they kept them, at least from siding with the Enemy, since they could not resolve to trust them as Friends. By this means too, their own Army was left without any Hopes, but in Victory, for there was no Retreat, but by the River, and that was now unpassable; after this was done, they prepar'd to receive the Enemy. The Soldiers deserv'd great Commendations by the Address and Skill they shew'd in this Battel, having been instructed, it seems, how they were to behave themselves singly, or in a Body: For the Tribunes had remark'd in their former Conflicts, that the *Gauls* were not formidable, but in the Ardour of the first Attack, that their Swords were of such a fashion and temper, that they could give but one good cut or two; and then they would stand bent in their Hands, and if they had not time to straighten them, with their Foot on the Ground, they became of no more use: Wherefore, the Tribunes distributed among the
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first Cohorts, the Javelins us'd by the *Triarians*, who were those that march'd in the Rear ranks ; commanding the Soldiers, first to make use of those Arms, and then to draw their Swords. And now, when they came to engage, they attack'd the *Gauls* as they had been order'd, whose Swords, by the first strokes on the *Roman* Javelins, became bent and useles ; then the *Romans* advancing nearer with their Swords, got so within them, that they had not room to lift their Arm to take a cutting stroke, which is their manner of Fighting, whose Swords have no point : While those of the *Romans*, on the contrary, being fashion'd for cutting and thrusting, redoubling the one after the other, they cut and pierc'd the *Gauls* in the Face and Breast, and made a terrible slaughter among them. Thus the *Gauls* were beaten, and the Honour of that Day principally attributed to the Prudence and Ability of the Tribunes ; for the Consul *Flaminius* was to seek, and had not sufficiently provided for the Safety of the Army ; who drawing up near the River, had so order'd it, that the *Romans* were deprived of one great Benefit, which they make use of in Battel, leaving them not space enough betwixt their Rear and the River to retire, when occasion should make it necessary : so that, if during the Battel, the *Romans* had been press'd never so little, they had no whither to retire, but into the River ; so great

great an Oversight was the Consul guilty of in that occasion. But so it happen'd, as we have related; that the *Romans*, by their Resolution, got a signal Victory, returning to *Rome* loaden with Spoil and Glory.

The following Year the *Gauls* sent their Ambassadors to the *Romans*, to treat of a Peace, on whatsoever Conditions they should please to grant it; but the Consuls *M. Claudius*, and *Cn. Cornelius*, would not yield to treat with them; whereupon they resolv'd to make their last Effort, and put it once again to the hazard of War. They therefore dispatch'd Orders for levying of Men among the *Gasatae*, who inhabit about the *Rhone*, of which People having taken thirty Thousand into their Pay, they continu'd in Arms in expectation of the Enemy. About the beginning of the Spring, the Consuls lead their Armies into the Territory of the *Insubrians*, and besieg'd the City of *Aceras*, situate between the *Po* and the *Alpes*. In the mean time, the *Insubrians* were willing to do their best to raise the Siege, but knew no way how to succour the Besieg'd, the Enemy being possess'd of all the Avenues; they therefore pass'd the *Po* with some of their Troops, and marching them into the *Roman* Territories, sat down before *Clastidium*. The Consuls receiving this News, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, taking with him all the *Roman* Horse, and a good Body of Foot, march-

march'd away with diligence to the Relief of that Place, of whose coming the *Gauls* having got Intelligence, rise from before it, and march in Battalia against him; and coming to ingage, they made for a while a good stand against the Horse, but being at length charg'd in Flank and Rear, they were forc'd to yield the Advantage to the *Romans*, betaking them to flight. Many perish'd in the River, which they attempted to repass, and more were slain on the Spot. *Acerres* likewise soon surrender'd, where had been lodg'd great store of Ammunition, and the *Gauls* retir'd to *Milan*, which is the Capital City of the *Insubrians*. But *Cornelius* follow'd them without loss of time, and march'd after them thither, where the *Gauls* attempted nothing during his stay; but on his marching back towards *Acerres*, they follow'd him, and attacking his Rear, kill'd many, and put the rest of the Army to flight; till *Cornelius* facing about at the Head of the Van-guard of the Army, commanded those that were flying, to make a stand, and face towards the Enemy: These Orders being obey'd, the *Romans* make Head against them that charg'd their Rear. But the *Gauls*, flesh'd with Victory, which they thought now sure, sustain'd for a time the Charge, but it was not long e'er they gave Ground, and, flying, sought Sanctuary in the neighbouring Mountains, whether *Cornelius* follow'd them, and then

then march'd into the Country, which he spoil'd and harrafs'd, and advancing to *Milan*, took it by force. So that after this Defeat, the Princes of the *Insubrians*, finding it in vain further to contend, submitted, and put themselves under the Protection of the *Romans*.

Behold now the Success of the War, which the *Romans* wag'd against the *Gauls*; wherein, if we consider the Courage and Obstinacy of the Enemy; the mighty Battles and the Multitudes that compos'd their Armies, and the Slaughter of Men in the Field; we shall be oblig'd, without doubt, to consent, that History affords none that may parallel it; while if, on the other hand, we weigh their Designs and Enterprises, and the blind and shallow Administration of their Affairs in all things, we shall see nothing therein that doth not justly beget our Contempt; for the *Gauls* are ever transported by Heat and Fury, never conducted by Reason and Council, we will not say for the most part, but in all their Determinations. And now having related how soon after they were beaten from their Seats in the Neighbourhood of the *Po*, some few places excepted under the *Alpes*, we therefore held it but reasonable to relate how they came first into *Italy*, what they did afterwards, and in a word, how they were at length totally exterminated. For it seems to me to be the Duty of an Historian, to instruct

struct future Times in these memorable Events, which are no other than the Sports and Entertainments of Fortune, lest Posterity, thro' want of due Information, should be to seek for Examples to fortifie their Minds against the frequent and temerarious Descents of these Barbarians. Furthermore, Instruction may be gather'd by the Example now before us, how certainly they may be repell'd, where they are resisted with Resolution; and that we ought to suffer every thing, rather than yield to them in any thing. And there is no doubt, but those who have oblig'd Posterity with the Relation of the *Persians* Expedition into *Greece*, and the Attempt of the *Gauls* upon *Delphos*, gave great Light to the *Greeks* in their Designs afterwards of rescuing their Countries Liberty. For if the mighty things perform'd by them, were duly weigh'd; what Myriads of Men, and what wonderful Preparations were lost and defeated, by the single Vertue of a few, who had a right Knowledge in the Art of War, and were led by the Conduct of Reason: There would be no Force so great, nor Armies so numerous that might not be resisted: And who would not run any Hazard, and suffer any Extremity to win Glory, and redeem his Coutry? In short, the *Greeks* were not molested, only in the Days of our Fore-fathers, but even frequently in our Times; which was in part my Motive for
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giving the World this short History of the Acts of that People, and albeit, it be but an Epitome, it comprehends, at least, their Story from the beginning of their Enterprises. But it is now time to remember from whence we have digress'd.

After *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* General, had govern'd in *Spain*, for the space of eight Years, he was treacherously murder'd in his Tent by a certain *Gaul*, provok'd by some Injury he had receiv'd. This Leader had greatly augmented the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*, not only by Force of Arms, but by his Wisdom, and the Gentleness whereby he gain'd and attracted the Good-will of many Princes of that Nation. After his Death, notwithstanding the Youth of *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginians* made him his Successour in the Government of *Spain*; who, among his other promising Qualities, gave Indications of an extraordinary Courage and Greatness of Mind; and was no sooner confirm'd in his Government, but it was easie to foresee by his Actions and Councils, that he meditated a War with the *Romans*, which, in effect, soon after came to pass. The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were already on Terms of Jealousie, and Provocations had been mutually given, by Injuries done on either side. The *Carthaginians* on their part could not digest their Loss of *Sicily*, which they long'd to revenge, and secretly laid their
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Designs to effect it ; while the *Romans*, who were not without Intelligence of their Practices, were on their Guard, insomuch as it was now visible to every Eye, that it could not be long before a War would break out between those two States. It was likewise about the same Period of Time, that the *Achaians* and King *Phillip*, with the rest of the Confederates, engag'd in a War against the *Aetolians*, which was call'd the War of the Allies. But since we have already treated of the Affairs of *Sicily* and *Africk*, and touch'd what was memorable therein, and pursuant to the Method we have propos'd, are now arriv'd at the said Confederate War, and the second that was wag'd between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, call'd by some the War of *Hannibal* ; where we promis'd should be the Commencement of our History, it will therefore be necessary, without entertaining the Reader with farther Digression, that we come now to set down the Occurrences of *Greece*, to the end, that having previously and summarily made the Way plain before us, by reducing the general Account of Affairs to one and the same Period of Time, we may thence take the Beginning of the General History, we have especially undertaken to write, wherein the Causes will be found very visible, which have produc'd so wonderful Effects.

Furthermore, in regard our Design is not laid to write the Story and Adventures, of any one single or particular Nation; as some have done that of the *Greeks*, and others of the *Persians*, but on the contrary, since we have determin'd to make a General History of Occurrences in all those Parts of the World, that have fallen under our Observation, it will not be therefore unprofitable to Discourse principally of those Places and People, that are most Eminent and Remarkable; inasmuch, as because the present Age sufficiently furnishes Materials for that Work, and in case we do not enlarge on that Subject here, we shall however, supply it else-where. Touching the *Asiatics* and the *Egyptians*, it may suffice to Treat of their Affairs, no higher than from our own Times; since their Story of remoter Date, has been already the Subject of divers Authors, to to which every one may have Recourse. And indeed they have seen so few Revolutions and Changes of Fortune of late, that there will be no need to resort to distant Accounts, to be enlightned in their Affairs. On the other hand, the History of the *Achaians*, and the Royal Family of *Macedon*, will require a necessary Recourse to Antiquity, in regard the latter is now quite extinguish'd, and the other by their good Conduct and Intelligence, risen to a marvellous Height of Prosperity: For tho' it hath been the Argu-

ment of many heretofore, to perswade the *Peloponnesians* to a Union, for their common Defence and Safety ; which could not, however, be brought to pass, inasmuch, as those who have seem'd to contend therein, could never relinquish their own Interests and Advancement, while they deliberated for the Publick. Wherefore, this Felicity was reserv'd for our Days, and is accomplish'd in such a manner, as that they are not only United by a firm Alliance, but the better to fasten the Bond of Union, their Laws are now the same, as also their Mony, Weights and Measures ; furthermore, they have the same Magistrates, the same Council, and the same Judges : So that to comprize all in one Word, *Peloponnesus* is not one entire City and Corporation, only because one Wall does not Begirt and Environ it ; every thing else is Uniform throughout all their Cities. And it would be no fruitless Curiosity, to enquire why, and for what Reason, the *Peloponnesians* began to take upon them the Name of *Achaians* ; for those who were first so call'd, were a People no more considerable than their Neighbours ; neither for their Riches, the number of their Towns and Cities, nor the Vertue of their People. In a word, the *Arcadians* and *Lacedemonians* were superior to the *Achaians*, both in Numbers and Extent of Dominion. And there was hardly any Nation through the whole Continent

continent of *Greece*, that did not think themselves their Equals, both in Valour and Virtue; how then comes it to pass that the *Achaians*, and those who have ingag'd in that Confederacy, and are become the same in Government and Name, are risen to that height of Reputation? It were Blindness and Folly to ascribe it to Accident, or a meer Effect of the Indulgence of Fortune. It behoves us then, to search out, and determine the Cause, for without that, nothing can be effected that comes to pass; whether done by the Guidance of right Reason, or seemingly done without any Reason all. My Judgment of the Cause then is this: That first it is impossible to find a Republick, where Liberty and Equality, and in a word, where popular Government is better preserv'd, or where more wholsom Laws are to be found, than among the *Achaians*, this invited many of the *Peloponnesian* Cities to embrace, of their own Accord, their Form of Government; many likewise were won to receive it by the Force of Reason and Persuasion; and some were constrain'd by Necessity, and yielded with a sort of Choice to what they foresaw they should shortly not be able to refuse. While in the mean time the Founders of this Institution reap'd no Privilege or Advantage by their Change, who no sooner receiv'd their Laws, but they were admitted to the same Fellowship of Right with the rest.

In brief, the *Achaians* compass'd this great Design, principally by two Things, which seldom fail of Effect; namely, Equality and Benignity; and there is great appearance of Reason that that was the chief and most likely Motive to this Concord, which growing and establishing by degrees, acquir'd to the *Peloponnesians* so much Power and Wealth. But this Right is to be done the *Achaians*, that it must be confess'd the Form of Government we have mention'd, was Originally and of Old among them; which appears by manifold Testimonies, but it shall suffice at this time to exemplifie only one or two.

Upon the Burning and Destroying the Assemblies of the *Pisihagoreans*, by a secret Conspiracy, in that part of *Italy* call'd *Magna-græcia*, there ensu'd great Commotious among the Principal Magistrates by that extraordinary Adventure. All the *Greek* Towns on that Coast of *Italy* were fill'd with Sedition, Tumult and Murders; so that to recover and establish Union and Tranquility among them, Ambassadors were dispatch'd to them from all parts of *Greece*, howbeit, the Council only of the *Achaians* was chosen to cure those great Evils, and compose the Dissentions that were grown among them. Nor was it in this only that the People express'd their Esteem of the Laws and Institutions of the *Achaians*; but all those Governments soon after, by common Consent, agreed to imitate them, and to Form

Form themselves according to the Example of the *Achaian* Republick. Whereupon the *Crotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, Uniting in one Body, agreed to build a Temple to *Jupiter Homorius*, Decreeing that Place for the Congress of their General Assemblies. In a word, they receiv'd the *Achaian* Laws, and resolv'd conformably to Govern their States. And if any thing therein was afterwards alter'd, it was not out of Choice, but strong Necessity; for on the one hand *Dionysus* of *Syracuse*, and the Barbarians on the other, who were too powerful for them to contend with, often compell'd them to change their Methods of Administration.

Afterwards, about the time of the *Lacedemonians* Defeat in the Battel of *Leuctra*, (an Occurrence which surpriz'd all the World) when the *Thebans*, contrary to the general Opinion, had acquir'd the Dominion of *Greece*, there grew great Troubles and Commotions every-where, and principally between the *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans*, for those would not be drawn to consent they had been Vanquish'd, and these could not prove they had been Victors. Whereupon the *Achaians*, of all the *Greeks*, were mutually chosen to be the sole Judges of this Controversie, not by an Argument of their Power and Greatness, there being no State at that Time in all *Greece* that was not Superiour to them in Strength, but merely in regard of the Virtue and Pro-

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bity which they manifested in all their Negotiations, which had acquir'd them the good Opinion of the whole World. But they had nothing else at that time to boast of, but good Counsel, and a Disposition to improve their Fortune, not having it in their Power to be Great or Secure, through the want of such a Head or Leader, whose Virtue and Abilities might answer the Glory of their Designs; For, they no sooner made Choice of One in whom any extraordinary Marks of Courage or Greatness of Mind was discover'd, when the *Lacedemonians*, and above the rest the *Macedonians*, would presently form Obstacles, and raise Impediments to the Course of their Virtue.

But afterwards, when they came to enjoy the Liberty of Chusing such Men, as knew how to acquit themselves, it was then perceiv'd, how capable they were of bringing the greatest things to pass. For, what was more glorious than the Union and Confederacy of the *Peloponnesians*? *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* was the Author of that Noble Enterprize, and *Philopæmen* of *Megalopolis* prosecuted it and saw it perfected; * *Lycortas*, and those who succeeded, confirmed it, and labour'd therein so successfully, as to give some Assurance of its Duration. But we shall shew in the Pursuit of our History, as Occasion shall be given, how, and at what Time, they respectively contributed to that Work. Nevertheless

* Father of our
Author.

vertheless we shall not have occasion to enlarge on the Actions of *Aratus*, in regard he himself has compos'd a sort of History, wherein the Truth of Occurrences is plainly deliver'd. But as to what may concern the others, we shall diligently, and more accurately, recount their Actions. In brief, I have, upon good Deliberation, concluded, that the Work I have undertaken, will be less difficult for me, and more advantageous for the Reader, to take my Beginning from the time when the *Achaians*, (who had been divided by the Power of the Kings of *Macedon*;) began to Unite and Incorporate, inasmuch, as from thence may be dated the Birth of that Power and Greatness, which by a constant Growth and Augmentation, hath at length arriv'd at that height of Prosperity wherein we now behold them, and whereof we have already taken notice.

It was in the Hundred and twenty fourth Olympiad, when the *Patraens* and *Dimarians* laid the Foundation of the Union; in the same Olympiad, wherein *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomy*, furnam'd *Ceraunus*, dy'd. And if we would extend our Prospect yet further back, behold the State of the *Achaians*: *Tisamenus*, Son of *Orestes*, flying from *Sparta*, upon the return of the *Heraclidae*, govern'd in *Achaia*, and was the first King of that People; the Dominion by him there founded, was continu'd in

a rightful Succession down to *Gyges*, whose Sons rendring him odious by their Tyrannical Practices, the first Form of their Government became chang'd, and reduc'd to a popular State, which lasted to the time of *Alexander* the Great; and albeit their Affairs were govern'd and regulated according to the Diversity of Times, and Occurrences, nevertheless all possible Endeavours were us'd to preserve the Form of a popular State. The Commonwealth was compos'd of Twelve Cities, which are in being at this Day, *Olenus* and *Helice* only excepted, which were swallow'd up by the Sea, in an Earth-quake, that happen'd not long before the Battel of *Leuctra*; which Cities are *Patra*, *Dyma*, *Phara*, *Trytæa*, *Leontium*, *Ægira*, *Pellene*, *Ægium*, *Bura*, *Ceraunia*, *Olenus*, and *Helice*. After the Death of *Alexander*, and since the Olympiad we have mention'd, these Cities fell into dangerous Dissentions, chiefly by the Artifices of the *Macedonian* Princes, when every City apart meditated on nothing but their own private Profit, and Ends, to the Prejudice and Destruction of their Neighbours; and this gave occasion to *Demetrius*, and *Cassander*, and afterward to *Antigonus Gonatus*, to put Garrisons in some of their Cities, and that others were invaded and govern'd by Tyrants, who in those Days were very numerous in *Greece*. But about the Hundred and four and twentieth Olympiad, when

when *Pyrhus* invaded *Italy*, these People began to see the Errour of their Dissentions, and labour'd to return to their former Union. Those who gave the first Example, were the *Dymæans* the *Patræans*, and the *Pharæans*; Five Years after those of *Ægium*, having cast out the Garrison that was plac'd over them, were receiv'd into the Confederacy. Those of *Bura*, follow'd their Example, having first kill'd the Tyrant; and shortly after, those of *Ceraunia* did the like: for *Iseas* their Tyrant, considering how that those of *Ægium* had expell'd their Garrison, and he who govern'd in *Bura*, was already slain by the Practices of *Marcus*, and the *Achaians*, and that it would be his Lot to have them all quickly for Enemies, he therefore resign'd the Dominion; after having first stipulated with the *Achaians*, for his Indemnity for what was pass'd, and so incorporated the City into the Union of the *Achaians*. But it may be demanded, Why we take so remote a View into Antiquity? To which we Answer, Because, in the first place, we would shew after what Manner, and at what Time this Commonwealth was founded, and who were the first of the Ancient *Achaians*, that laid the Foundation; and to the end it may appear that we say nothing without Proof, of the Institutions of that People, and that what we have Recorded is too evident to be confuted, it is manifest they have all along observ'd the same

same Methods of Government. So that consenting to Equality and Liberty, which is in the utmost Perfection among that People, and opposing their Arms against those, who by themselves, or by the Assistance of such Princes as would willingly have had them fallen into Servitude; they have been able to compass their great Design, partly of themselves, and partly by their Confederates. In short, we may have recourse to their Laws, and Institutions, to be satisfy'd in what afterwards succeeded. For, in a word, tho' they have been, in many Occasions of greatest moment, serviceable to the *Romans*, nevertheless their Success never alter'd them, or lent them Ambition to Exalt their Fortune, but they barely contented themselves to be permitted, in reward of the good Offices they had render'd their Allies, Liberty only to every one in particular, and a Confirmation of the general Union of *Peloponnesus*. But this will be more evidently seen by their Actions.

The Cities, then, we have mention'd continu'd for the space of five and twenty Years, to preserve their Form of Government unchang'd, chusing in their General Assembly, two Prætors and a Secretary. Afterward they concluded to have but one Prætor only, who should be charg'd with the Management of their Affairs; and the first who enjoy'd that Dignity, was *Marcus* the *Carian*,

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who, after four Years of his Administration, gave place to *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, who, at the Age of twenty Years, after he had by his Vertue and Resolution rescu'd his Country from Tyranny, join'd it to the Commonwealth of the *Achaians*, so great a Veneration had he from his Youth for the Manners and Institutions of that People. Eight Years after, he was a second time chosen Prætor, and won *Acro-corinth*, which *Antigonus* had fortify'd with a Garrison, whereby *Aratus* freed all Greece from no small Apprehension: when he had restor'd Liberty to *Corinth*, he united it to the *Achaians*, together with the City of *Megara*, which he got by Intelligence during his Prætorship. All these things happen'd about a Year before the last Battel that was fought between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* for the Dominion of *Sicily*, when the latter were oblig'd to quit their Claim, and become Tributaries to the *Romans*. In a word, *Aratus*, who, in a short space, brought many and great things to pass, made it manifest by his Counsels and Actions, that his greatest Aim was the Expulsion of the *Macedonians* out of *Peloponnesus*, to suppress Tyranny, and assert the Liberty of his Country. So that, during the whole Reign of *Antigonus Gonatus*, *Aratus* constantly oppos'd all his Designs and Enterprises, as he did the Ambition of the *Aetolians*, to raise themselves on the Ruines of their Neighbour States. And

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as in all the Transactions of his Administration, he gave singular Evidences of a steady Mind and firm Resolution, all his Attempts succeeded accordingly, notwithstanding many States confederated to hinder the Union, and to destroy the Commonwealth of the *Achaians*.

After the Death of *Antigonus*, the *Achaians* enter'd into a League with the *Ætolians*, and generously assisted them in their War against *Demetrius*, so that the ancient Hatred between these two People seem'd for the present extinguish'd, and the Desire of Concord began, by degrees, to grow in the Minds of the *Ætolians*; *Demetrius* reign'd ten Years, and dy'd about the time that the *Romans* made their first Expedition into *Illyria*, when many great and noble Occasions were given to the *Achaians* of finishing the Project they had conceiv'd. For the Tyrants who reign'd in *Peloponnesus*, having lost the Support of *Demetrius*, who greatly favour'd them, began now to Despair; and on the other hand, being aw'd by *Aratus*, who admonish'd them to quit their Governments, on Promise of great Honours and Rewards to such as voluntary resign'd, and threatening others with Hostility, who refus'd: Whereupon they resolv'd to Despoil themselves of their Dignities, restore their People to Liberty, and Incorporate them with the *Achaians*. As to *Lyfiadas*, the *Megalapolitan*, he wisely fore-

foreseeing what was likely to come to pass, frankly renounc'd his Dominion during the Life of *Demetrius*, and was receiv'd into the General Confederacy of Rights and Privileges with the whole Nation. *Aristomachus*, Tyrant of the *Argives*; *Xeno* of the *Hermionians*, and *Cleonymus* of the *Phliatians*, resigning their Authority at the time we mention'd, were likewise receiv'd into the Alliance of the *Achaians*.

In the mean time, the *Ætolians* began to conceive Jealousie at the growing Greatness and extraordinary Success of the *Achaians*, and according to their natural Malice and Ambition, but principally in Hopes they should be able to break the Union of those Cities that were already join'd, as it had been concerted with *Antiochus*, and was heretofore brought to pass, when they shar'd the *Acharnanians* with *Alexander*; encourag'd, therefore, now by a Prospect of the like Success, they basely enter'd into a League with *Antigonus*, who at that time govern'd *Macedon*, during the Minority of *Philip*, then a Child; they did the like also with *Cleomenes*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, and incorporated their Troops with their own. In short, they saw *Antigonus* now at Leisure, with the whole Power of *Macedon* at his Devotion, and were well assur'd of his Enmity to the *Achaians*, on the Occasion of the Surprise of *Acro-corinth*; so that, making account,

count, that if the *Lacedemonians*, who likewise bore no good Will to the *Achaians*, would heartily join with them in their Designs against that People, it would not be difficult to succeed in their Enterprize, inasmuch as they should be able to Attack them in earnest, and Invade them on all sides at once: Nor would the *Ætolians* have been without Reason to hope some Success in their Design, had they not omitted one principal Consideration; namely, that they were to have to do with *Aratus*, whose great Abilities suffic'd to obviate and prevent all the ill Effects that could be threaten'd. But making an unjust War on the *Achaians*, it came to pass, that it did not only not succeed as they had propos'd; but on the contrary, as by the Wisdom of *Aratus*, who was then Prætor, their Designs were broken and defeated; so the Confederacy became stronger, and the *Achaians* greater than before; and by what shall be further related, it will appear how they effected their Purpose.

Aratus, then, considering that the sense of the Benefits the *Ætolians* had receiv'd by the Friendship of the *Achaians*, during the War with *Demetrius*, with-held them for the present, out of Shame, from openly declaring War against them, though at the same time, they secretly practis'd with the *Lacedemonians*, and manifested so violent an Hatred to the *Achaians*, that when *Cleomenes* fraudulent-
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ly attack'd them, and surpriz'd *Tegea*, *Mantineia* and *Orchomena*, they were not only not touch'd or concern'd at that Outrage and Violation, but did their best to confirm him in the Possession of those Cities. And notwithstanding their natural Avarice, to gratify which Passion, a very slight Occasion suffic'd to provoke them to War, with those who had hardly injur'd them; yet could they tamely suffer, not only breach of Faith, but willingly yielded up great Cities to the Possession of others, in prospect that the growing Power of *Cleomenes*, might at length render him a Match for the *Achaians*. *Aratus*, therefore, and the Chiefs of the Confederacy, determin'd not to declare War against any one, and to apply themselves only to withstand the Designs of the *Lacedemonians*, at least these were their first Thoughts: But when they had further penetrated the Counsels of *Cleomenes*, and saw him building a Fortrefs in the Territory of the *Megalopolitans*, call'd *Athenæum*, and that the War became by that means manifestly proclaim'd against them; they then call'd an Assembly of the States, and therein it was declar'd that the *Lacedemonians* should be reputed Enemies. In this manner, and at that time the War began, which was call'd the *Cleomenic War*.

This War was at first manag'd and sustain'd by the single Strength and Forces of the

the *Achaians*, who had the Resolution to march alone against the *Lacedemonians*, concluding it more for their Glory to attempt their Defence, without borrowing Aids from abroad; but bearing in memory the good Offices which had been done them, heretofore by *Ptolomy*, they endeavour'd to secure his Friendship, and to possess him with a Belief, that their entire Confidence was in him. But when the War began to grow upon them, and *Cleomenes* had destroy'd the *Lacedemonian* Government, and of a free State had converted it to a Tyranny, *Aratus* observing that that Prince manag'd the War with no less Ability than Force, began to be in pain for the Event, and being jealous of the Arts and Infidelity of the *Aetolians*, he thought it Wisdom to endeavour to Counter-work, and perplex them in their Enterprises. He therefore consider'd that, *Antigonus*, who govern'd in *Macedon*, was a Man of Experience, and of his Word, and that he was willing enough to make Alliances; and was not without this Consideration too, That Princes have naturally neither Friends nor Enemies, but measure Amities and Enmities, by the Rules of Interest; he therefore endeavour'd after a good Understanding with that Prince, and determin'd to propose the joining the Forces of the *Achaians* with his. But there were many weighty Reasons that convinc'd him, this was an Affair

fair that could not safely be treated openly; for in a word, he was well aware that *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians*, would not only oppose it, but the *Achaians* themselves would have reason to Despair, when they should see their Prætor applying to their Enemy: Which they would interpret an Effect of his Doubt of their Forces, which he thought necessary by all means to prevent. He resolv'd therefore to prosecute his Purpose with such Caution, as to leave no room for Suspicion; and the better to bring it to pass, he was constrain'd both to do and say many things in the Eye of the People, that to them bespoke quite other Intentions than those he had harbour'd; thus he kept his Design undiscover'd, and that indeed seems to be the Reason why he hath made no mention thereof in his Commentaries. Furthermore, *Aratus* was not ignorant that the *Megalopolitans*, by their Neighbourhood to the *Lacedemonians*, stood expos'd above all others to the Violence and Incommodities of the War, which they could not without great Repugnance undergo, and that the *Achaians* would not be able to yield them effectual Succours, by reason of their own Straits. He likewise knew their great Inclinations to the House of *Macedon*, in Memory of the many Favours done them by *Philip* Son of *Amintas*, so that he justly collected that whenever they should come to be hard press'd by *Cleomenes*, they would re-

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fort for Succour to *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians*. There were two principal Citizens in *Megalopolis*, namely *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*, with whom *Aratus* corresponded, who were Men well qualify'd for Conducting the Enterprize he was meditating; to these he imparted the Secret, and by their means brought it so about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to send Embassadors to the Assembly of the *Achaians*, to move them to solicit Succours from *Antigonus*, by their Ambassadors. So *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*, were themselves sent to the *Achaians*, with Orders to proceed on to *Antigonus*, if they approv'd the Proposition; which they did, and consented that the Ambassadors should pursue their Orders.

When *Nicophanes* had his Audience of *Antigonus*, he touch'd the Affairs of his own Country, in few words, speaking no more than what was just fit; but he enlarg'd, and made him a long Discourse, pursuant to the Instructions of *Aratus*, of Affairs in General. Which Instructions import'd the mighty Consequence of the Alliance between *Cleomenes* and the *Aetolians*, and whither it tended; that it was true, the *Achaians* were likely to feel the first Evils of it, but the heaviest and most dangerous Effects threatned *Antigonus*; that it was not difficult to determine that the *Achaians*, were not themselves a Match for those two People, in case they

they should attack them; and that it was yet easier to foresee, to those who rightly judg'd of Affairs, that the Ambition of *Cleomenes*, and the *Ætolians* was not likely to be limited to the single Conquest of the *Achaïans*; and that they would stop there; that *Peloponnesus* wou'd prove but a small Morfel to the Avarice of the *Ætolians*, when Greece itself was not thought sufficient; that touching *Cleomenes*, albeit he made Shew to be satisfy'd with the Dominion of *Peloponnesus*, there was no reason to doubt, but that whenever he should compass so great a share of Authority, he would extend his Ambition to the Subjection of all Greece, which it would be impossible to bring to pass, without first destroying the *Macedonian* Monarchy. The Ambassadors therefore were to pray him to deliberate maturely which was likely to be the safest Counsel for him to take; whether to Succour the *Achaïans* and *Beotians*, in Opposition to *Cleomenes*, and to counterplot his Designs upon Greece in *Peloponnesus*, or by neglecting the Occasion of conciliating the Friendship of so great a People, become liable at length to sustain a War in *Thessaly*, for the Empire of *Macedon*, not only with the *Lacedemonians* and *Ætolians*, but with the *Beotians* and *Achaïans* themselves. They were in short, to let *Antigonus* know, that if the *Ætolians* continu'd their Neutrality, as they yet seem'd to do out of shame, to deal

ungratefully with those from whom they had receiv'd so many good Offices during their War with *Demetrius*: That in such case the *Achaians* would stand alone against the Attempts of *Cleomenes*, and if Fortune favour'd their Councils, they should not be driven to resort to any foreign Assistance. But in case other Resolutions should be taken, and that the *Ætolians* should join with the Enemy, That he should then be mov'd to weigh with his best Wisdom the State of Things, and not to permit the occasion to be lost of timely succouring, and preventing the Ruine of the *Achaians*, of whose Fidelity and Gratitude there could be no Reason to doubt. In short, the Ambassadors gave him Assurance, That whensoever these Matters should come in agitation, *Aratus* would be prepar'd to give such Security for their fair Proceeding, as should be pleasing to both Parties, and that he himself would take upon him to demand it whensoever Assistance should be needful. *Antigonus* having heard the Ambassadors, acknowledg'd the Counsel of *Aratus* to be very wise and wholsome, and from that time forward kept a more vigilant Eye on all Occurrences. He likewise writ to the *Megalopolitans*, assuring them of his Assistance, whensoever the *Achaians* should declare it necessary.

Upon the return Home of *Nicophanes* and *Gercidas*, they deliver'd the Letters of *Antigo-*

and made known the good Disposition wherein they found that Prince, whereupon the *Megalopolitans* took Courage, and forthwith deliberated to go to the Assembly of the *Achaians*, and move them to join with *Antigonus*, and to lose no time in putting their Affairs into his Management. And now, when *Aratus* had been given to understand by the Ambassadors how kind *Antigonus* had appear'd to the *Achaians* in general, and to himself in particular; he was not a little pleas'd to find his Project succeed so well, and that *Antigonus* prov'd in his Compliance, so contrary to the Opinion of the *Achaians*; for he was assur'd that the Inclination which the *Megalopolitans* had shewn to commit the Conduct of the War to *Antigonus*, by the Consent of the *Achaians*, could not but greatly contribute to the Success of his Designs. For, notwithstanding that *Aratus*, as we have observ'd, wish'd there might happen no Occasion to call in Foreign Aids, and that he labour'd all that was possible to prevent it; nevertheless, he thought it the safest Advice that could be taken, if they should chance to be straitned, to secure the Friendship of *Antigonus*, provided the Motion might proceed meerly from the *Achaians*, and that it might not appear it was compass'd by his Procurement. For, in short, as he could not answer for *Antigonus*, who might be tempted to change his Mind, so he was in the right

to do his best, to shun the Blame that might be due to him, for the Mischiefs that might befall his Country in case, after *Antigonus* should have come to their Relief, and succeeded against *Gleomenes*, he should chance to attempt any thing to the Detriment of the Republick. And on the other hand, he justly fear'd, that if *Antigonus* should declare himself their Enemy, no Body would arraign him of Injustice, after the Violation acted by the *Achaians* against the Kings of *Macedon*, in the Surprise of *Aero-Corinth*.

Wherefore upon the arrival of the *Megalopolitans* at the Assembly, where they communicated *Antigonus's* Letters, and after they had deliberated on the great Demonstrations of Affection that Prince had made them; and, in a word, had remonstrated the pressing Occasion of calling him to their Aid, and that the *Megalopolitans* wish'd it above all things: Then *Aratus* stood up to speak, and, after he had exaggerated the Benefits of *Antigonus's* Friendship, and applauded the Determination of the People, he made a long Exhortation to dispose them by all means, if it were possible, to compass their Defence and Safety by their own Forces alone, inasmuch, as nothing could befall them more Glorious, or more Profitable: And that if after all their Efforts, Fortune should prove averse, then that they might have recourse to their Friends, but that they ought

ought first to perform the utmost they were able, by their own single Forces.

This Opinion of *Aratus* being approv'd, by a general Vote of the Assembly, they determin'd to proceed no further for that Time, and that the *Achaians* should attempt at least to sustain the War by themselves. In the mean time, *Ptolomy*, who despair'd of preserving Friendship with the *Achaians*, began to manifest his Good-will to *Cleomenes*, by supplying him with Necessaries; for, as he believ'd the Power of the *Lacedemonians* would be likely to go further towards the Defeating the Designs of the *Macedonians* than the *Achaians*, he theretofore did what he could to irritate *Cleomenes* against *Antigonus*; contributing his part towards the expence of the War. But after the *Achaians* were worsted by *Cleomenes*, first near *Licæum*, where they met by accident; and afterwards, in a Battel near *Magalopolis*. And, in short, after their Defeat, and the loss of their prime Strength, in the Territory of *Dymaja*, near a Place call'd *Hecatombæum*, finding the Circumstances of their Affairs to admit no further Delay, the present Danger in which they saw themselves, prevail'd on the *Achaians* unanimously to consent to implore Succours of *Antigonus*; accordingly *Aratus* dispatch'd away his Son, and ratify'd the Treaty that had been made with that Prince, touching the Assistance he was to give them.

now a weighty Objection appear'd, likely to obstruct the Accord, for they took it for granted, that *Antigonus* would demur to their Supply till *Acro-Corinth*, together with the City, should be restor'd to his Possession; which he would make to be the Seat of the War; and the *Achaians* could not determine to yield up those Places without the Consent of the *Corinthians* first obtain'd; which was the Occasion of some Delay, and gave them leisure to deliberate about adjusting the Sureties.

In the mean while, *Cleomenes's* Successes had given the Alarm on all sides, who prosecuted his good Fortune now without danger or molestation, taking some Towns by fair means, and others by force; and having made himself Master of *Caphya*, *Pellene*, *Phoenice*, *Argos*, *Phliunte*, *Cleone*, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, *Træzene*, and, in short, of *Corinth* itself; he march'd on, and incamp'd near the City of *Sicyon*. The difficulty was now remov'd, that molested the *Achaians*, and *Aratus* the Prætor, while the *Corinthians*, who, tho' they had signifi'd they were ready to joyn and march with them, were on the contrary found to have confederated with *Cleomenes*; and invited him to receive them. This gave the *Achaians* then a Pretext which justifi'd their Determination, and which *Aratus* readily improv'd, who had already given *Antigonus* some hopes that *Acro-corinth* should be

be put into his Hands; which having now perform'd, the sense of the Injury heretofore done to the Kings of *Macedon*, became by that means remov'd, and the Alliance more firmly ratifi'd for the Time to come; and, what was farther considerable, *Antigonus* was by that means, put in Possession of a proper Fortress, whereby to manage the War with the *Lacedemonians*. *Cleomenes*, who had already promis'd himself the Principality of all *Peloponnesus*, receiving Intelligence of the Alliance concluded between *Antigonus* and the *Achaïans*, forthwith retir'd from before *Steyon*, and march'd and incamp'd his Army near the *Isthmus*, and fortifi'd with a Ditch and Rampart, the whole Space between *Acro-Corinth* and the *Onion Hills*. In the meanwhile *Antigonus* had been long in a readiness to enter upon the War, and attended only the Motive from *Aratus*; and making a Judgment according to the Advices he receiv'd, that *Cleomenes* would soon be on his march with his Army, he therefore sent to *Aratus* and the *Achaïans*, himself being then in *Thessaly*, to exhort them to put in effect the Promises that had been made him, and then march'd with his Army towards the *Isthmus*, by the way of *Eubœa*. For the *Ætolians*, who had attempted all other means before to prevent the Conjunction of *Antigonus* with the *Achaïans*, and were still ready to do their utmost to hinder the same, had

intimated to him, that he should not attempt his passage with an Army by the Streights of *Thermopylae*, and that if he did, they would oppose him with an Army. When *Antigonus* arriv'd at the *Isthmus*, he incamp'd just opposite to *Cleomenes*, with design to block up his passage into *Peloponnesus*.

And now, notwithstanding the Affairs of the *Achaians* were in a state desperate enough; nevertheless, they chang'd not their Purpose, and were not destitute of Hope; and they no sooner saw *Aristotle* the *Argian*, opposing the Partizans of *Cleomenes*, when they immediately march'd to their Assistance, and by the Conduct of *Timoxenes*, they got possession, and became Masters of *Argos* by Intelligence; and it is reasonable to believe, that that Success gave Rise to the Prosperity of their Affairs. For, first of all, this Adventure gave check to the Imperuosity of *Cleomenes*, and greatly dishearten'd his People, as Occurrences will explain it by and by. For notwithstanding his being possess'd of Posts and Places of more advantage, and being Master of greater Conveniences for the supply of his Army than *Antigonus*; and, in a word, at the Head of a more numerous Army; yet, he no sooner heard, that the *Achaians* were Masters of *Argos*, when he desert'd all those Advantages we have enumerated, and that render'd him Superior to *Antigonus*, and retir'd from the *Isthmus*, in the manner of

Flight, fearing to be surrounded by the
 Army. Afterwards he manag'd an Intelli-
 gence in *Argos*, and got into the Town, but
 for all he could do to keep Possession, he
 was driven out again by the *Achaians*, with
 the Assistance of the Inhabitants themselves,
 who having first promis'd him their Concur-
 rence, they afterwards refus'd it: So he re-
 turn'd to *Sparta* by the way of *Mantineæ*.

Thus *Antigonus* got his passage into *Pelo-*
nessus without hazard, and *Acro-Corinth*
 was put into his Hands, where he remain'd
 a long, but hasten'd away to *Argos*; where,
 for he had prais'd and encourag'd the Inha-
 bitants, and settl'd their Affairs, he return'd
 to his Camp, and bent his March towards
Aradia. In short, after he had reduc'd sever-
 al new Garrisons that had been lately erect-
 ed by the Enemy, and put them into the
 Hands of the *Megalopolitans*; he proceeded
 to *Egium* to be present at the Assemblies of
 the *Achaians*, where he set forth the Motives
 of his coming among them, and advis'd how
 they were to proceed, and there he was cho-
 sen General of the Confederate Army; and
 being now Winter, he remain'd some time
 at *Sigon* and *Corinth*, but early in the Spring
 drew his Army out of their Winter-quar-
 ters, and took the Field; and in three Days
 after his departure, arriv'd before *Tegea*,
 where the *Achaians* join'd him. *Antigonus*
 being incamp'd before the Town, forthwith
 be-

besieg'd it, which being hardly press'd by the *Macedonians*, who attack'd them by all the Methods that are put in practice in the like Attempts; especially, by Mines, which they had made on all Quarters; insomuch, that the Inhabitants, despairing of Safety, yielded up the Place; which *Antigonus* having strengthen'd with a Garrison, proceeded on further Expeditions, and march'd his Troops with speed into *Laconia*; and being advanc'd near *Cleomenes*, who, with his Army, lay on the Frontiers; he began some small Engagements with him by Parties, the better to sound his Designs: But learning by his Spies, that *Cleomenes's* Army had been re-inforc'd by fresh Troops from *Orchomenus*, he forthwith march'd away towards those Quarters, where he took *Orchomenus* by force; from whence he march'd against *Mantineæ*, which place, terrify'd at the approach of the *Macedonians*, submitted; then he advanc'd towards *Heræa* and *Telphussa*; whereupon, in regard these two Places voluntarily came into his Party, and Winter was now at hand, he return'd to *Egium*, to be at the Assembly of the *Achaïans*; and sending his Troops home, to pass the Winter, he remain'd Deliberating and Consulting with the *Achaïans*, how farther to prosecute their Affairs.

Cleomenes receiving Intelligence, that *Antigonus* had sent home his Army, and that himself, with a small Guard only of Mercenaries,

series, remain'd at *Agium*, which is not above three Days Journey from *Megalopolis*; and knowing that City to be of great Circuit, and but thinly peopl'd, which, to defend it as it ought, would require a great Garrison; and furthermore, having notice, that by reason of their present Neighbourhood to *Antigonus*, they kept very negligent Guard; and what was yet a farther Inducement, he knew, that the greatest part of the Inhabitants, able to bear Arms, had been lost in the two Battels that had been fought, the one near *Lycæum*, and the other near *Laodicea*, as was noted; upon these Motives then, he gets by Night into the Town, without giving the least Suspicion, conducted by certain *Messenians*, who had been bannish'd their Country, and had taken Sanctuary in *Megalopolis*. But in the Morning, when the Alarm was taken, it wanted but little, that the Inhabitants had not driven him out again, both his Person and his People being brought into manifest danger, as it happen'd to him about three Months before, when he secretly got into the same Town, at a place call'd *Colæus*. But he being now the Stronger, and possess'd of all the advantageous Posts, succeeded in his Attempt; and, in short, having vanquish'd the Inhabitants, became Master of the Place; and was no sooner in possession, when he put in practice so many Outrages and Cruelties of War, that he left
not

not so much as any Appearance, that it had ever been a peopl'd Place. In my Judgment, *Cleomenes* gave himself up to that degree of Inhumanity, out of Revenge, that he could not prevail at any time (how difficult soever) to ingage any one of the *Clitorians*, *Megalopolitans*, or *Strympheans* to be of his Faction, depend on his Fortune, or betray their Country to him; yet was the Generosity and love of Liberty amongst the *Clitorians* stain'd by the Wickedness of one Man, namely, *Thearces*, tho' they justly deny him to be a Native, but that he was the Son of an *Orchomenian* Soldier residing among them. And, tho' there be extant *Aratus's* History of those Times, there are some who give greater Credit to *Clearchus*, who dissents from him in many Particulars; the safest and wisest course, therefore, especially while we follow *Aratus* touching the Atchievements of *Cleomenes*, will be to sift and examine things narrowly, to the end, it may not be our Fault, if Falshood prevail over Truth. In short, *Clearchus* has deliver'd many things without Judgment or Consideration, but we are not to make his Process, and detect his Errors in this place; we shall barely content ourselves, to relate nakedly, the Occurrences of those Times, and the Transactions of the *Cleomenean* War, and that will suffice to expose the Weakness of the Author, and shew, what we are to gather from his History. When

Clearchus

Pharbus then would set forth the Cruelties of *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians*, and even of *Aratus* himself, and the *Achaians*, he relates, That when the *Megarians* fell into the Hands of the Enemy, they were subjected to unspeakable Calamities; and that their City, which was the most considerable and ancient of all *Arcadia*, was reduc'd to great Misery, as it drew Tears of Compassion from the whole Body of the *Greeks*.

In brief, when he hath a mind to move Pity in the Minds of his Readers, and touch them by his Discourse, he represents Women embracing each other with melting Lamentations in their Mouths; he exposes them with dishevel'd Hair, and naked Breasts, and adds Tears and Complaints of Men, Women, and Children, Young and Old drag'd away promiscuously: In a word, it is his manner thus to paint and describe things, when he would give us an Image of Sorrow and Adversity. Whereupon I observe it is beneath the Dignity of solid Minds to be taken with such Entertainments, wherein Women only can receive Diversion. Behold then what is proper and specifick to History, and wherein consists the Benefit that we receive by that Study; It is not the Business of an Historian to affect the Reader with recounting of Prodiges, and relating things for the sake of the Novelty and Oddness of the Matter, nor to
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wander after Subjects, that with difficulty may be allow'd to have a resemblance of Truth; nor to aggravate things; all which is properly the Poets Theme; but to set down plain Truth, and report punctually what was said or done to the least Circumstance. In short, Poetry and History have two different Ends, or are rather totally incompatible: The Art of Poetry is to strike the Heart, and move the Passions, and to beget a present Pleasure, by a Discourse that hath nothing but a likeness of Truth to recommend it: But the Design of History is to instruct the present and future Ages, in the exact Verity both of Words and Actions. Probability, tho' false, predominates in Poetry, inasmuch as the Spectators there come to be deceiv'd; but Truth is to govern in History, for its End is Profit and Instruction. And yet there are Historians who give us Relations of the most important Occurrences, without reporting to us either the Causes, the Beginning or the Reason of Things; whereof, if we are left ignorant, what just Motive will their be either for Compassion or Indignation? In a word, who would not be affected to see a Man of free Condition beaten and severely treated? And yet if this Man's Guilt hath begot his Sufferings, no Body will wonder. If Correction, and the Preservation of good Discipline, be the Motives of his hard Treatment, the Authors deserve Thanks and

and Praise. Is it not held likewise a heavy Crime to kill a Citizen? And yet we may kill a Citizen, destroy a Thief or an Adulter, and the Law saves us harmless. And we kill a Traytor or a Tyrant; instead of Punishment; Honours and Rewards are allowed for such Actions: So true it is, that the Right or Iniquity of what we do, depends not on the Fact, but on the Causes and Motives, the Purpose of the Actors, and the Difference that is found between them.

The *Mantineans* then having withdrawn from the Confederacy of the *Achaians*, with whom they were once in Alliance, gave up themselves, their Town and Territory to the *Esolians*. And not long after they made the same Present to *Cleomenes*, and while they were incorporated with the *Lacedemonians*, *Aratus* gaining Intelligence with certain of the Inhabitants, the *Achaians* took it by force, ten Years before the arrival of *Antigonus*; and, in a word, they were so far from requiring Punishment for the Fault of their Devotion, that on the contrary, the Union and Conciliation of those two People was as strange, as the Revolution was sudden, and unlook'd for: For *Aratus* was no sooner in possession of the Place, when he expressly forbid all manner of Plunder and Hostility, but calling the Inhabitants to assemble, he exhorted them to take Assurance, and fear nothing, and to apply themselves to their re-

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spective

spective Business and Callings, and that no manner of hardship should be offer'd them, while they continu'd Members of the *Achaian* Republick. Whereupon, those of *Mantineæ*, who could not have hop'd such gentle Treatment on so sudden a Change, soon alter'd their Sentiments; and they who but now were Enemies to the *Achaians*, and fighting against them, had lost many Friends and Fellow-citizens; receiv'd now the same *Achaians* as Inmates into their Houses, and as they would their nearest Friends; performing mutually all Offices of Friendship and Courtesy one to another. Nor was it indeed other than Justice, for I believe it may be with Truth averr'd, that there are but few Examples of such Lenity in an Enemy; and that scarce any People ever had so light a Feeling of a Misfortune, accounted among the greatest that befall us, as the *Mantineans*, did through the Humanity of the *Achaians* and *Argives*.

Afterwards by their own Importunity, press'd by the seditious Practices of some of their Citizens, who kept Intelligence with the *Ætolians* and *Lacedæmonians*; Ambassadors were sent to the *Achaians*, to demand a Garrison for their better safety. Whereupon the *Achaians* appointed three Hundred of their Citizens to be chosen by Lot for that Service; and those whose chance it was to go, left their Fortunes and their Country,

take up their abode in *Mantineæ*, to assert
 and defend the Liberties of the Inhabitants.
 They were accompanied with two Hundred
 Meduſarians, who jointly contributed to the
 Preservation of the Eſtabliſh'd Form of Go-
 vernment: But not long after, infligated
 by the ſeditious Practices of the Diſaffected,
 they call'd in the *Lacedæmonians*, to whom
 they gave up themſelves and their Town,
 and put all the *Achaians* to the Sword, who
 had been ſent thither to ſuccour and defend
 them; than which, could there be a more
 ſhameful Act? For, in a word, ſince they
 had determin'd to change their Party, and
 to forget the good Offices they had receiv'd
 from the *Achaians*, and the Friendſhip that
 had been cultivat'd between them; they
 ſhould, one would think, have ſpar'd the
 Lives of theſe poor People, and diſmiſs'd them
 in ſafety to their Country, as not being
 ſubject to any Conditions which might ariſe
 from any new Treaty; for according to the
 Cuſtom of Nations, that Favour is afforded to
 Enemies in the like adventures. But the
Mantineans, of their own meer Motion,
 took that criminal Part, and violated an
 univerſal Law, to give an Earneſt to *Cleo-
 mides*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, of their Rea-
 ſeſſneſs to Engage in any thing they ſhould re-
 ceive of them. In this manner, then having
 with their own Hands ſlain thoſe who had
 deliver'd them their Town and their Liberty,

after they had taken it by force, and who were then actually guarding them; what degree of Indignation seems due to such Treachery? Or rather let me say, what degree of Punishment can be conceiv'd equal to their Crime? Perhaps it may be said, That upon reducing the Town, themselves, their Wives, and Children ought to be sold into Captivity. To which I answer, That by the Rules of War, that is no worse Treatment than is practis'd towards those who have no Crime for which to account. They merited therefore certainly the most rigorous Punishment that could be thought on, but if their Usage was no other than *Phylarchus* reports it, it would have seem'd just, not only that the *Greeks* should have abstain'd from the Compassion he mentions, but rather that they should proclaim the Praises of those who could not endure to punish so vile and criminal a Proceeding with the Rigour it deserv'd. And now, albeit the *Mantineans* smarted no more for their Misdeeds than the Pillage of their Goods, and the selling all of free Condition; this excellent Historian refines beyond the Rules of Truth, and labours to render every Passage strange and extraordinary, superadding such Falshoods as want even the least resemblance of Probability; and such was the blindness of his Folly, that he could not see to set down what was done under his Eye; for the *Achaians*, at the same time taking

The *Tegeans* by force, proceeded in no wise
 with the *Tegeans* as they had done with the
Platinians.
 Now, if it had been out of the native Cru-
 elty of the *Athensians*, that the *Platinians*
 were so hardly dealt with; how comes it to
 pass, the *Tegeans* escap'd so easily, who fell
 into their Hands about the same time? If the
Platinians were then the only People that
 suffer'd such Severity at the Hands of the
Athensians, it may be fairly infer'd that they
 had merited, by their extraordinary Crimes,
 that extraordinary Punishment. Our Histo-
 rian further says, That when *Aristomachus*
Argos, who had been Tyrant there, and
 whose Ancestors had been Tyrants, fell into
 the Hands of *Aegisthus* and the *Achaïans*,
 they carry'd him to *Cenchrea*, where they
 put him to so cruel a Death, that there is
 scarce an Example of so great Inhumanity.
 Furthermore, he feigns, according to his
 Custom, that his Cries amidst his Torments
 were heard into the Streets, insomuch that
 the People press'd into the Prison, where
 they were affrighted at the Barbarity of his
 Woe, which they could not behold with-
 out Horror and Detestation. But let us not
 dwell too long on this Point of Tragedy;
 whereof we have spoken sufficiently. For my
 own particular, I take for granted, that tho'
Aristomachus had never injur'd the *Athensians*,
 there could have been no Death too severe for

his manner of Life, and the Crimes he had committed against his Country.

But our Author, to exalt the Glory of *Aristomachus*, and excite greater Compassion for what befel him, says, That he was not only a Tyrant, but descended of Tyrant Ancestors. Now, I pray, what more detested or infamous Character could be have given him? For most sure I am, that the Name only of Tyrant, contains the height of all Impiety, and comprehends all that Man's Imagination can compass or conceive of criminal outrageous Wickedness.

But as to *Aristomachus*, if he should have suffer'd greater Torments than are set forth by our Historian, they would have been found short of his Due, for one only meritable Act of his, on the occasion of *Antenor's* secretly getting into *Argos* at the head of a Party of *Achaians*, where being expos'd to manifest Danger, fighting for the Liberty of the *Argives*, he was at length compell'd to retire, for that though the terror People were under of the Tyrant, none had Resolution to succour or side with him in the Attempt. Upon this Adventure, *Aristomachus* forms a Design to gratifie his Cruelty, pretending there were Conspirators in the City, who held Intelligence with the *Achaians*; whereupon, in cold Blood, and in the presence of his Friends, he causes no less than fourscore innocent Persons, of the principal Citizens,

at once to lose their Heads. I forbear to make mention of the Vileness and Inhumanities of his Life, and of his Ancestors, which would ingage me in too long a Discourse.

But what I have said may suffice to witness, that it was no Injustice to award him the same Measure he had dealt to others; we rather ought to conclude, it would have been Injustice, if his Death should have happen'd without some sence of Torment, after he had acted so many criminal Parts.

It will not therefore be found a just Imputation of Cruelty in *Antigonus* or *Aratus*, if, being taken in the heat of War, *Aristomachus* was condemn'd to die by Torments, if in times of Peace he deserv'd no less; and that those who should have compass'd his Death, would have merited Applause and Rewards, from every honest Man. But over and above what we have observ'd, having violated his Faith, and broken his Trust, with the *Achaians*; what Punishment could they think too great? In short, *Aristomachus* a little before the Death of *Demetrius*, being in great Danger, and reduc'd to the utmost Extremity, forlorn and despoil'd of his Dominion, found an *Asylum* among the *Achaians*, who receiv'd him with all possible Gentleness. They not only forgot and forgave the Crimes and Outrages of his Tyranny, but admitted him to a Share of the Administration of the State, and

conferr'd on him the Trust of Commanding and Conducting their Army, and did him other great Honours; while he, notwithstanding all this, upon the first Shadow of Advantage render'd him by *Cleomenes*; forgot all these Obligations, and Deserting the *Achaians*, at a time of their greatest Distress, joyn'd with their Enemies: So that falling at last into their Hands; what hard Measure would it have been, to carry him to *Cenchrea*, and there to put him privately to Death, and in the Night as our Author reports; when, in Justice, he should have been led through all the Country of *Peloponnesus*; and after he had been made a Spectacle to the World, he ought to have been publicly tormented to Death, to render him the greater Example. Tho', in a word, the severest Treatment that befel this vile Man, was no other, than to be cast into the Sea, for certain Barbarities committed by him at *Cenchrea*.

Furthermore, *Philarchus* exaggerates, with Passion, the Calamities of the *Mantineans*; as if he thought it the Business of an Historian, to pick out and enlarge most on the Subject of our Vices; but is silent when he should have Recorded the Memorable and Glorious Behaviour of the *Megalopolitans*, which occurred at the same time, falsely conceiving that to Register the Flaws and Frailties of Human Nature, were more Eligible, than to Publish the Merit of Noble and Generous Actions;

Actions; while, who knows not, that the Fame and Glory of Noble Deeds, doth more urge us to Vertue, and reform our Manners better than the Recital of Criminal Adventures.

Our Author indeed labouring to set forth the Courage of *Cleomenes*, and his Gentleness to his Enemies, tells us how he took *Megalopolis*, and preserv'd it from Destruction, as he had sent to *Messene*, whither the Inhabitants were retir'd, to invite them back to their Habitations, and take part with him; and doth he omit to tell us, that the *Megalopolitans* had hardly the Patience to hear his Letters read, after they knew the Subject, and that they were with difficulty restrain'd from stoning the Messengers to Death. But he totally neglects to publish what in Justice, and according to the Rules of History, should not have been omitted; namely, to Celebrate the Praises of their Vertue, and the generous Resolution they had taken, which he might easily have done: For, if we reckon those Men of Honour and Vertue, who Succour and Defend their Friends and Confederates in Distress, both in Word and Deed; and if we think it not only Praise-worthy, but the Subject of great Rewards, and Concessions of remarkable Priviledges to those who suffer on that Score, to yield to be spoil'd in their Fortunes, to abide the Calamities of Sieges, and endure all the wasteful Effects of Hostility; what

what may be then said to be due to the *Me-
galopolitans*? Shall we not reckon them Men
of Honour? Can we praise them too much?
First, they indur'd with unspeakable Con-
stancy, to behold *Cleomenes* Burning and Ra-
vaging all their Territory abroad; then they
chose to abandon their Native City and Soil,
rather than their Friendship, and the Type
of Honour they were under to the *Achaians*.
In a word, tho' contrary to their Hopes,
Overtures were made them, to return to their
Possessions; they could better brook to be
depriv'd of their Fortunes, their Sepulchres,
their Temples, their Country, their whole
Substance, and, in short, to lose all that was
valuable and dear to them, than to Violate
their Faith to their Confederates. Could
any Man do more? or is it in the Power of
any Mortal at any time to acquire a more
Glorious and Illustrious Character? When,
if not here, could an Historian hope to find
a Theme fit to Charm the Attention of the
Reader! And what more noble Example
could be inculcated to Mankind, to excite
them to Constancy and Fidelity to their
Treaties and Alliances with their Neigh-
bouring States! Nevertheless *Philarchus*
has committed all this to Oblivion; and
therefore I think one may safely accuse
him of Stupidity and want of Judgment,
in the Choice of such Matter as became
the Dignity of History, since he could
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neglect the Recording Occurrences of great importance, that lay so plainly in his View.

We are farther told by our Author, That the *Lacedemonians* took in Booty from the *Megalopolitans*, to the value of six thousand Talents, whereof two thousand, according to ancient Custom, fell to the share of *Cleomenes*. Now, who doth not perceive the remarkable Ignorance of this Man, touching the Strength and Possessions of the *Greek Towns*! which is a matter, wherein, of all things, an Historian ought to be most punctually instructed; while I will be bold to aver, without exaggeration, That it would have been impossible to find the amount of that Sum in *Peloponnesus*, setting the Slaves only aside; nor do I assert it from the Poverty of the Country, that had been rob'd and ruin'd by the *Macedonian Kings*, and more by the mighty Devastations of their own Civil Dissentions; but I am bold to descend to the Times where we now behold it, flourishing in Union, and rais'd to the greatest height of Prosperity. In a word, it may be calculated by what I am about to say, whether what I undertake to prove be without-book or no. There is scarce any Man so ignorant, that doth not know, that when the *Achaians* and *Thebans* join'd in War against the *Lacedemonians*, and form'd a Land-army of ten thousand Men, and a Naval one of one hundred Vessels, they came

came to a Resolution, each one to contribute to the Charge of the War, in proportion to his Riches and Possessions, and that thereupon an Estimate and Valuation was made of all that was appraisable throughout the *Attick* Territory, comprehending Lands, Buildings, Goods, Treasure, &c. and upon that Calculation, the whole Value amounted to two hundred and fifty Talents short of six Thousand; from whence it may be infer'd, whether we have reason or no to say what has been observ'd touching *Peloponnesus*. To conclude, whosoever should undertake to say, that the Pillage and Booty of *Megalopolis* could exceed, at that time, the Sum of three hundred Talents, would surpass the Truth of the Account: For we are well assur'd, there was a great number, both of People of Free-condition and Slaves, who escap'd to *Messene*; and what farther confirms this Opinion, that there was no People in all *Arcadia*, the *Mantineans* excepted, that surpass'd the *Megalopolitans*, either in the number of Inhabitants, Strength, or Riches, which *Phylarchus* himself grants; and upon the taking the Town after the Siege, out of which no Body could escape, or secure any thing from the Enemy, there was not rais'd three hundred Talents of the Booty, adding the Sale of the Prisoners to the Account.

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And who will not yet farther wonder, at what *Phylarchus* reports; namely, that about ten Days before the Battel, there arriv'd an Ambassadour from *Ptolomy* to *Cleomenes*, to let him know, That he could expect no farther Supplies of Money from him; with Advice moreover to come to a speedy Accord with *Antigonus*; and that thereupon *Cleomenes* determin'd to come the more speedily to a Battel, before his Army should have notice of this News, as despairing to be able to pay them out of his own Treasure. Now it is remarkable, that if it were true, that about that very time *Cleomenes* was Master of four thousand Talents, he had been in no need of *Ptolomy's* Assistance, being a much wealthier Prince than himself: and, as to what concern'd his Affairs with *Antigonus*, if it were likewise probable, that *Cleomenes* had made but the Sum of three thousand Talents of the Booty, it would have amounted to more than enough to prosecute the War without danger or difficulty. Is not this then a farther Instance of the Weakness and want of Judgment of our Historian, to say, that *Cleomenes* depended intirely on the Aids and Liberality of *Ptolomy*, and to report him at the same time Master of so plentiful a Treasure! He runs into many the like Errors, in the course of his History, but what we have already noted may suffice for our present Purpose.

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Megalopolis being taken while *Antigonus* was at *Argos*, where he made his Winter a-bode; *Cleomenes* assembled his Troops early in the Spring, and after he had incourag'd them suitably to the Time and the Occasion, he took the Field, and fell on the Frontiers of the *Argians*, with a Resolution, by the Vulgar accounted temerarious, by reason of the Strength and difficult Situation of many Places that commanded his passage; but according to the Judgment of those who could best discern, with Wisdom and Conduct enough; for, in short, he knew that the *Macedonians*, were yet at home, and from them there was no danger to be apprehended in his Enterprize. Furthermore, he wisely consider'd, that as soon as he should have made any Progress upon the *Argians*, and had spoil'd and ravag'd their Country up to the Walls of the City, that People would not be able, with any Patience, to suffer it, but would soon trouble *Antigonus* with their Complaints and Remonstrances; and in case that Prince should be mov'd by their Applications, to take the Field, with those few Troops he had with him, and attempt a Battle, that it was then odds but he would be beaten; or, if he did not yield to their Importunity, but kept within the Walls, that then *Cleomenes* would have the opportunity of terrifying and doing damage to the Enemy, of heartning, and giving Assurance to his

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soldiers, and so to return home again with impunity. And, in short, it happen'd as he had forecast, for the *Argians* could not behold their Country wasted and plunder'd, without pressing *Antigonus* with their Complaints; who, notwithstanding, departed not from the Dignity of a great Prince, and the Rules of a wise General. He was not therefore mov'd to take the Field out of fear of present Blame, but kept himself in Covert, to avoid future Censure, and only employ'd his time in exposing and inculcating his Reasons for all his Proceedings.

After *Cleomenes* had wasted and pillag'd the Country as he had propos'd; dishearten'd the Enemy, and confirm'd the Courage of his own People against the Danger that threaten'd them, he return'd home in safety. In the beginning of Summer, *Antigonus* with the *Macedonians*, *Achaians*, and the rest of the Confederates; led their Troops into *Laconia*; their Army consisting of ten thousand *Macedonians* which compos'd the *Phalanx*, three thousand with Bucklers, three hundred Horse, and three thousand choice *Achaian* Foot, three hundred *Achaian* Horse, and a thousand *Megalopolitans* arm'd after the *Macedonian* manner, led by *Cercidas* of the same Country. There were further Succours of the Allies, consisting of two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse of the *Boeotians*, and of the *Epirots* a thousand Foot and

and fifty Horse, and the like number of *Aetolians*, besides sixteen hundred *Illyrians*, commanded by *Demetrius* the *Pharian*. So that the Army consisted of Twenty eight thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse.

Cleomenes, not doubting but the Enemy would soon visit him, took care to strengthen all the Passes with good Garrisons, fortifying all the Avenues with Ditches and Ramparts, and filling up, and barricadoing the Ways with great Trees laid a-cross, fell'd for that purpose. As for *Cleomenes* himself, he march'd with an Army of twenty thousand Men, and incamp'd at a certain place call'd *Selasia*, having reason to suspect, that the Enemy purpos'd to pass that way, and he was not deceiv'd in his Conjecture. Here are situate two Mountains, the one call'd *Eva*, the other *Olympus*; between these runs the River *Ocnus*, along the Banks whereof there is a narrow Way or Defile, that leads to the City of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* order'd a good Ditch to be made at the Foot of these two Hills, with strong Ramparts behind them; on the Mountain *Eva* he posted the Forces of the Confederates, under the Command of *Euclidas* his Brother, and he himself possess'd *Olympus* with the *Spartan* Troops and the Mercenaries. In short, his Horse he appointad to be drawn up in plain Ground near the River on each side, sustain'd by a Body of Mercenary Foot.

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When *Antigonus* arriv'd, and had well consider'd the Situation of the Ground, the Fortifications and Defences that were made, and had remark'd with how much Judgment *Cleomenes* had provided for all things, having distributed his Troops and posted them so properly, and that he had so Soldier-like possess'd the Place, and was incamp'd in such excellent Order, the Form thereof bearing the resemblance of an Army drawn up in Order of Battel; for he had omitted no Skill or Forecast, either with respect to giving the Attack, or receiving the Enemy, his People being in a Posture for either, and his Camp well secur'd against any Insult or Surprize.

When *Antigonus*, I say, had observ'd all this, he could not determine to give *Cleomenes* Battel, but contented himself for the present to retire some small distance off, and incamp his Army on the the River *Gorgylos*, which fortify'd one part of his Camp. Here he remain'd some Days, the better to acquaint himself with the Ground and Situation of the Country, and the Disposition of the Enemy; feigning to Attack them now in one place, now in another, marching round them to give them the greater Terror. But perceiving every Post to be well-gaurded, and not being able to find any one place, that might encourage him to attempt them; *Cleomenes* being vigilant:

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and warily watching his Mptions, and always present at every place of importance; he then chang'd his Purpose, till at length the two Generals came to agree to joyn Battel: For it was bruited about, That Fortune had made choice of these two Great Men, equal in Skill and Bravery, to try the Mastery one against the other. *Antigonus* order'd the *Macedonians*, who carried Bucklers of Brass (mingling among them the *Illyrian* Cohorts) to march against those on Mount *Eva*; these were commanded by *Alexander* Son of *Acmetus*, and *Demetrius* the *Pharian*, in the Rear of these he rang'd the *Cretians* and *Acarnanians*, who were follow'd by a Body of Reserve consisting of two thousand *Achaians*. Towards the River he order'd the Horse, who were to ingage those of the Enemy, under the Command of *Alexander*, and on the Wings of the Horse he appointed a thousand *Achaians*, and as many *Megalopolitans*, while he himself resolv'd to attack *Olympus* at the Head of the *Macedonians* and Mercenaries, knowing that *Cleomenes* was there; he order'd the Mercenaries to have the Van, and the *Macedonian* Phalanx to sustain them, following by Platoon's, whereunto they were compell'd through the difficulties of the Ground; the *Illyrians* who pass'd the River *Gorgylus* over Night, and were posted at the Foot of the

the Mountain, were order'd to begin the Battel, for which they were to receive a Signal by a White Flag, that should be spread from the nearest Post they had to *Olympus*; and the Signal that was to be given to the *Megalopolitans* and the Horse, was a Purple Caslock or Coat, which was to be wav'd in the Air, where *Antigonus* himself was posted.

When all things were in a readines, the Signal was given to the *Illyrians*, and after they had encourag'd each other, they advanc'd towards the Enemy, and began to ascend the Mountain, while the Foot which *Cleomenes* had mingled with the Horse, observing that the *Achaian* Cohorts were follow'd with no Reserve, or Troops to sustain them, advanc'd presently upon them, and charg'd them in Flank, and much gall'd those who were endeavouring to gain the Mountain; at the same time *Euclidas*, who was posted on the top of the Hill, press'd them in Front, and the Mercenaries warmly attack'd their Rear. *Philopamen* a *Megalopolitan*, observing this Disorder, presently conceiv'd what would be the Issue, accordingly he told his Opinion to the Commanders in Chief, of the Danger these Troops were in, but observing they gave no heed to his Advice, being then but Young, and having never yet born any Command; he therefore, after he had encourag'd his Country Men,

attack'd with incredible Bravery the Enemies Horfe. This Action forc'd the Mercinaries, who had fallen on the *Illyrians* Flank to retire to their Relief, which was their proper Post; who observing them to be now engag'd, and retreating from those whom they had before attack'd, hastned to sustain them; by which means the *Illyrians* and *Macedonians*, and all those who were marching up the Mountain, were deliver'd from the Obstacle that retarded their Motion, and now resolutely advanc'd on the Enemy; and it afterwards appear'd, that their Success against *Euclidas*, was owing to *Philopæmen*. And it is reported, that after the Battel, *Antigonus*, the better to try *Alexander*, ask'd him, How it came to pass, that he adventur'd to Engage before he receiv'd the Signal? and that *Alexander* should reply, It was not by his Order, but that a certain young Man of *Megalopolis* had been the occasion, without any Direction from him. And that *Antigonus* reply'd thereupon, That that young Man had judg'd rightly of the occasion of Victory, and had done the part of a good Captain, and that *Alexander* had acted like a young Soldier. And now *Euclidas* observing the *Illyrian* Cohorts to approach, forgot as one may say the advantage of the Ground where he was posted; for it is the Rule of experienced Leaders, when they are posted on superior Ground to the Enemy, to move towards

wards them, and improve the advantage of the Shock, that the descent of the Hill lends them, thereby to give the greater Terrour to the Enemy, and then, if Necessity obliges them, slowly to retire and gain the summit of the Hill; for by disordering thus the Enemy, and depriving them of the advantage they promis'd themselves by their different sort of Arms, and the Order in which they march'd, it would not have been hard for him to have forc'd them down the Hill, so commodiously posted as he was. But *Euclidas* perform'd nothing of all this, but acted rather directly contrary; and as if to do nothing at all would conduce to the Victory, he remain'd on the top of the Hill where he was first posted; imagining it to be his Duty there to attend the coming of the Enemy, to the end, that when he should have defeated them, they might be the more intangled and obstructed in their Flight, by reason of the Precipices and the broken Ground of the Mountain. But it happen'd quite otherwise than he had conjectur'd, for while he had so plac'd himself that he had left no room behind him to retire, he found himself oblig'd to fight and defend himself on the top of the Hill against the intire unbroken Body of the *Illyrian* Cohorts, whom he had permitted to gain the top, and were now advancing toward him on level Ground, so that he became an easie Conquest to the *Illyrians*, ha-

ving no Ground whereon to make an orderly Retreat, all behind him being Rocks and Precipices.

In the mean time, the Horse were warmly engag'd, where the *Achaians* perform'd all that could be look'd for in the like occasion, for they knew this Battel did as it were decide their Liberty; but *Philopæmen* was remarkable above all the rest, whose Horse being first kill'd under him, and afterward fighting among the Foot, he was there struck through both his thighs at one stroke. On the other-side, the two Princes began the Battel on Mount *Olympus*, with their light-arm'd Soldiers and their Mercenaries, consisting of about five Thousand on each part. Sometimes they fought by Parties, and then again encountred with gross Bodies, but with great Resolution on both sides, the Action being under the Eye of their Masters, and in View of both Armies; sometimes they mingled and fought Man to Man, and then Troop against Troop, but howsoever it happen'd, they fought with wonderful Resolution.

During this variety of Action, *Cleomenes* receiv'd notice, that his Brother was beaten out of the Field, and that the Horse that fought in the Plain began to give Ground, so that fearing to be compass'd by the Enemy on all sides, he was constrain'd to level and open his Retrenchments before his Camp, and to order all his Troops to march out in Front.

Front. And the Trumpets sounding to the Charge on both sides, he order'd his light arm'd Soldiers to retire, and now the Phalanxes on either side mov'd to the Encounter with their Pikes charg'd; and one while the *Macedonians* seem'd inferiour in Courage to the *Lacedemonians*, and appear'd dispos'd to fly; then again the *Lacedemonians* seem'd too weak to sustain the Shock of the *Macedonian* Phalanx, and were giving Ground. In conclusion, *Antigonus* now advancing against them with an Impetuosity peculiar to the double Phalanx, forc'd the *Lacedemonians* at length off their Ground; the rest of the Army either fell in Battel, or sav'd themselves by Flight, and *Cleomines* with a small Party of Horse, escap'd unhurt to *Sparta*; from whence he departed the Night following to *Gythia*, where he imbarc'd on certain Vessels prepar'd for such an Incident, and sail'd to *Alexandria*, accompany'd with some few only of his intimate Friends.

Afterwards, *Antigonus* made his Entry into *Sparta* without resistance, where he treated the *Lacedemonians* with all possible Humanity, and as soon as he had Re-establish'd their Ancient Form of Government, he march'd away with his Army; having receiv'd Intelligence, That the *Illyrians* had Invaded *Macedonia*, and made great Spoils upon the Country. Thus it is true, that Fortune is pleas'd sometimes to permit Actions

of highest Consequence, to move and determine on the slenderest Accidents, and Occasions least expected. For, if *Cleomenes* had respited coming to a Battel but a few Days only ; or when he had retir'd to the City after the Fight, had he but stood upon his Guard, and temporis'd never so little, he most certainly had preserv'd his Dominion. In short, *Antigonus* took his way by *Tegæa*, and after he had restor'd that Republick, he came two Days after to *Argos*, at the time of the *Namæan* Games, where he obtain'd by an Ordinance of the *Achaïans*, and by the Suffrage of every City, all those Honours that are done to Great Men to render their Fame immortal : From thence he proceeded by long Journies to *Macedon*, where encountering with the *Illyrians*, who were wasting the Country, he gave them Battel, and won a Victory, but in that occasion straining his Voice to Animate his People, he broke some Vein in his Lungs, whereby voiding Blood at his Mouth, he fell into a Languor, and evil Habit of Health, which soon after took him out of the World. This Prince had marvelously gain'd on the Good-will of the People of *Greece*, not only by his perfect Skill in Millitary Matters, but more particularly for his Probity, and the exact Discipline he always observ'd. His Death left *Philip* Son of *Demetrius* to enjoy his Right to the Kingdom of *Macedon*.

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And now, if it be ask'd, why we have remain'd thus long on the History of the *Cleonic War*? I answer, Because it occur'd in a Period of Time, that confines on the Beginning of the Affairs and Adventures, that are to be the Subject of our History; and we conceiv'd it was not useful only, but necessary, to set down the then State of *Macedonia* and the *Greek Affairs*, especially since we have resolv'd to perform punctually what we have promis'd. About the same time died *Ptolomy*, to whom succeeded that other *Ptolomy* Surnam'd *Philopater*. *Seleucus* who was Surnam'd *Pogon*, Son to *Seleucus*, and Grand-son to *Calinychus*, died likewise near that Time, whose Successour in the Government of *Syria*, was his Brother *Antiochus*; thus died those who succeeded *Alexander*, namely, *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*, all within the Hundred and twenty fourth *Olympiad*, as did the others in the Hundred and thirty ninth.

Having now laid the Foundation of our Work, and made it visible in what Times, and in what Manner, and by what Means, the *Romans* took Assurance to extend their Empire beyond the Bounds of *Italy*, after they had compleated their Conquests in that Country, and had made their first Essay, with the *Carthaginians*, for the Dominion of the Sea: After having likewise spoken of the Affairs of the *Greeks*, the *Macedonians* and
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the *Carthaginians*, and given a Summary of the State of these Governments, in those Times; we are arriv'd, I think, at a proper Place, to put an End to this our Second Book; which we Conclude with the Wars we have treated, and with the Death of the Actors, and according as we have laid our Design, we are come at length to that Period of Time, wherein the *Greeks* deliberated about the War of the Confederates; the *Romans* touching the Second *Punick* War; and the Kings of *Asia*, about that which was wag'd for the Dominion of *Syria*.

The End of the Second Book.

POLYBIUS'S
General History
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

VOL. I. BOOK III.

WE promis'd in our First Book
to begin our History at the
Second *Punick* War; the
War of the Confederates;
and that which was wag'd for the Dominion
of *Syria*. We have likewise deliver'd our
Reasons, why in our two preceeding Books
we deduc'd and brought down our Story
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from so remote Times. Now we are come to treat of the Wars themselves, and the Causes that begat and prolong'd them, and that render'd them so terrible. But first it will be necessary that we preface something farther touching our purpose, for since what we have determin'd to deliver, is propos'd to center in one and the same End, being to be but one entire Work, and as one may say one Spectacle or Representation, where will be seen how, when, and by what means, all the known Parts of the World, became reduc'd under the Dominion of the *Romans*; we have therefore concluded it not impertinent to our Method, to give a previous Draught, as it were in little, of what occur'd of Importance during so many and great Wars; conceiving the Reader will be thereby more enlighten'd, and better instructed in our main Design. For as the knowledge of the whole cannot but yield some conception of the Parts; and that to be rightly inform'd of the parts, must necessarily enable us to judge better of the whole; we shall therefore pursue this course, which we have judg'd the most proper for Instruction, in opening what might else seem obscure; and shall produce a Table, as it were, or Index, of our whole History, where will be review'd what we have related. We have indeed already given a kind of Summary of our intire Work, and have prescrib'd

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Book III. of the World.

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prescrib'd its bounds; but for the particular Occurrences, as the Wars, (whereof we have already made recital) will be the beginning; so we shall prescribe its Period with the desolation and extinction of the Royal House of *Macedon*. In brief, it will be the Adventures only of Three and fifty Years, in which space will be found Occurrences so numerous and extraordinary, that no Age within the same compass of Time hath shown the like. Our beginning shall be at the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, and the Order we purpose to observe will be as followeth.

When we have opened the Reasons that gave original to the War between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, call'd the War of *Hannibal*, we shall show how, and by what means, the *Carthaginians*, after their Invasion of *Italy*, and the Suppression almost of the *Roman* Dominion there, reduc'd them at length to that low ebb of Fortune, as to raise their hopes of becoming Masters of *Rome* it self: Then we shall endeavour to explain how at the same time *Philip* King of *Macedon*, when he had ended his Wars with the *Ætolians*, and establish'd afterwards Peace among the *Greeks*, enter'd into Confederacy with the *Carthaginians*. About the same time began the Contest between *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy Philopater*, touching the Dominion of the *Lower Syria*, which came at length to a

War. The *Rhodians* and *Prusias* were likewise at that time in Hostility with those of *Byzantium*, and hinder'd the levying the customary Duty that was paid them by those who traded into the *Pontick* Sea. Here we shall respite our Discourse, to begin our relation of the *Romans*; of whom we shall endeavour to show by the Events, that their Form of Government did not only greatly avail towards their recovery of *Italy*, and the Island of *Sicily*, together with the reducing the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* under their Dominion; but (after they had subdu'd the *Carthaginians*) to inspire them with Ambition enough to atchieve the Conquest of the World. We shall likewise by a short digression relate how the Dominion of *Hieron* of *Syracuse* was lost. Then we shall say something of the Disorders that fell out in *Egypt*, wherein mention shall be made of the Conspiracy that happen'd on the Death of *Ptolemy* to divide that Kingdom, which was left to his Son, then a Child. And shall further observe after what manner *Philip*, between Craft and Force, attempted at once the Kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Caria*; and *Antiochus* the *Lower Syria* and *Phœnicia*.

In short, we shall then give an Abridgment of what pass'd between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, *Africk*, and *Sicily*; and then we shall treat of Occurrences among
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the *Greeks*, and make mention of such Transactions as have any regard to that People. But after we shall have discours'd of the Naval War between *Attalus*, in conjunction with the *Rhodians*, and *Philip*, and that which was wag'd between *Philip* and the *Romans*, and shall have shewn after what manner the War was conducted, and by whose management, and what the Success was; we shall then pursue the Relation, according to the succession of Occurrences, and shall make mention of the Motives the *Ætolians* had to invite and draw *Antiochus* out of *Asia*, whereby they became the Authors of the War that follow'd between the *Romans* and *Achaïans*; whereof when we have observ'd what were the Causes, and have seen *Antiochus* landed in *Europe*, we shall then first shew how he was driven out of *Greece*, and afterwards (being vanquish'd in Battel) how he deserted all he possess'd in *Asia* on this side Mount *Taurus*; and then, how the *Romans*, having repress'd the Insolence of the *Galatians*, acquir'd to themselves the Dominion, but deliver'd however the People of the *Lesser Asia*, from the frequent Terrors and Injuries of those Barbarians. Then shall be related the Calamities of the *Ætolians*, and those of *Cephalenia*, to which will succeed the Account of the War between *Bumenes* and *Prusias*, in conjunction with the *Gallo-Græcians*; to which shall be added,

that which the same *Eumenes*, join'd with *Ariarathes*, wag'd against *Pharnaces*. And after we have made mention of the union of those of *Peloponnesus*, and of the growth of the *Rhodian* Commonwealth, we shall then make a recapitulation of our whole History, as we have already propos'd. Nor shall we omit to relate the Expedition of *Antiochus Epiphanes* into *Egypt*; nor the *Persian* War; nor the Destruction of the Royal House of *Macedon*. In a word, These Occurrences when duly weigh'd, will evidence by what Order and Method of Conduct, the *Romans* have acquir'd the Universal Dominion.

For if the good or evil Success of Affairs, may be the measure whereby to make a Judgment of things laudable or worthy of blame, whether it be with respect to Persons, or States; we must finish our History with the Adventures we last recited, which terminates the Three and fifty Years we mention'd, and shews us the *Roman* Empire at its utmost growth of Greatness: For after this, none were ignorant, and the whole World was compell'd to confess, that all submission was due to the *Romans*, and subjection to their Laws.

But forasmuch as we cannot make a clear Judgment either of the Victors or the Vanquish'd, by a bare Account of Events, in regard sometimes things have become hurtful, which had they been rightly improv'd, might have

have been profitable; and, on the other hand, some by their Verrue and Constancy, have turn'd even their Misfortunes to a Benefit; we have therefore judg'd it not unprofitable to subjoin to what we have propos'd to deliver, an Account of the Manners and Discipline of the Conquerors, after what sort they improv'd their Victories, what consideration the World had of them, and of their Laws and Customs in the Administration of the Government. Furthermore, we shall make enquiry into the Passions and Inclinations which prevail'd among each People respectively, with regard to publick and private Ends; so that those of the present Age will be able thereby to discern, whether they ought to shun or chuse subjection to the *Romans*; and Posterity to judge, whether their Government were worthy of praise and imitation, or to be rejected as vicious and blameable; for in that we propose especially to consist the Utility of our History to the present and future Ages.

In short, this we ought to believe, that those who have the Conduct in Transactions of War, and those who are concern'd otherwise in the Administration of publick Affairs, do not propose Victory, and the surmounting the Difficulties that occur in their Attempts, as the single and ultimate end of their Designs. For no wise Man ever made War barely for the sake of vanquishing his Enemy;

nor did any ever embark upon the Ocean, because he would be able to say he had cross'd the Seas; nor do Men study the Arts and Sciences, for the single motive of being thought skillful therein; but every one hath his prospect, either of Pleasure, Honour, or Profit, as the Reward of his Pains and Study: So the principal end we have propos'd in this our Work, is to explain and demonstrate to the World the State and Condition of Mankind, after all the Nations of the Earth being vanquish'd by the *Romans*, were become subject to their Laws, till those new Commotions that afterwards fell out. I had also a yet further motive which press'd me to this Undertaking, and which affords, as it were, a new beginning; namely, the stupendious Occurrences and marvellous Adventures whereby those times were distinguish'd, and to which moreover I am the more willingly dispos'd, from my having been a Witness and Spectator of many of those great Actions, having contributed in the execution of some, and conducted and principally advis'd in the performance of others. They were those Commotions I mention'd, that oblig'd the *Romans* to make War on the *Vaccæans* and *Celtiberians*; which mov'd the *Carthaginians* in *Africk* to take Arms against *Massanissa*, and *Attalus* and *Prusias* to declare War with each other in *Asia*. At the same time *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, who had been expell'd his

his Kingdom by *Orofernes*, was, by the assistance of *Demetrius* and his sole Forces, restor'd to his Government; and then it was that *Seleucus*, Son of *Demetrius*, having reign'd twelve Years in *Syria*, lost his Kingdom and his Life by a Conspiracy of the neighbouring Princes: The *Greeks*, who stood accus'd of having been Authors of the *Persian War*, were about the same time absolv'd of that Blemish, with liberty granted them by the *Romans* to return from Banishment to their Country. Shortly after these Adventures, the *Romans* attempted to compel the *Carthaginians* first to remove and change their Habitations, and afterwards totally to ruine and exterminate them. But we shall report in its proper place the motives of that Enterprize. About the same time likewise the *Macedonians* departing from their Confederacy with the *Romans*, and the *Lacedæmonians* from theirs with the *Achaïans*, will present us, in one prospect, with the beginning and end of the common Calamities of *Greece*, where will occur ample matter for the Historian's Skill to describe; and it behoves us to implore the favour of Fortune, to lend us life to conduct us through so difficult and important a Task: Nevertheless, tho' Death should chance to prevent us, we should not however depart without some assurance that our Design will survive us, and that there will not want some excellent Hand, who, charm'd

charm'd with the Beauty of so incomparable a Subject, will successfully finish what we have begun. And now that we have prefac'd the most remarkable things, which we thought necessary towards the improvement of the Reader's Understanding of our History, both in the parts and the whole, it is high time we proceed to our Discourse.

Whereas those Authors, for the most part, who have writ the Acts of *Hannibal*, have undertaken to give us an account of the Causes which begat the War that broke out between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, whereof mention hath been already made, and have render'd the Siege of *Saguntum* to have been the first occasion, and the second to be the *Carthaginians* passing the River *Eber*, contrary to the Articles of Agreement: For my own part, I do frankly agree with them, That these were the beginnings of the War, but can never accord with those who reckon them for the Causes, no more than it can be conceiv'd, that *Alexander's* transporting his Army into *Asia*, was the cause of the *Persian* War; or that the Voyage of *Antiochus* to *Demetrius* with his Army, was likewise cause of the War with that Prince: For who can be drawn easily to conceive, that that was *Alexander's* motive for the mighty Preparations he made, and of those things which *Philip* in his Life-time put in execution before him, in order to the *Persian* War? Further-

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more, who will take the beginning of the War, which the *Ætolians* made upon the *Romans*, before the arrival of *Antiochus*, to have been the cause? Those who reason at this rate, seem not to distinguish of the difference between the Beginnings, the Causes, and the Pretexts. The Causes always precede the Beginnings, which are ever subsequent, and as it were a Consequence.

I hold therefore the Beginnings to be the first efforts or effects of Deliberation; namely, of what hath been with mature Reason debated and decreed to be put in execution; but this will be more evident by what I am about to say, whereby it will plainly appear, what the Causes were which produc'd the *Persian War*, and where it took beginning. The principal Cause was, the retreat the *Greeks* made, by the Conduct of *Xenophon*, through so many divers Nations of the *Upper Asia*, where none of all those barbarous People, who were all Enemies, had the Courage to oppose his passage in his march through so vast a Continent. Another cause was the Voyage of *Agésilans*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, into *Asia*, where he found no Enemy so hardy as to withstand his Enterprizes, from whence he was recall'd by reason of some Commotions that happen'd in his absence among the *Greeks*.

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Hence *Philip* took his measures of the *Persian* weakness, and being not ignorant that both himself and his People were Masters in the Art of War, was incited by the glory and magnificence of the Reward to engage in that Enterprize; so that after he had acquir'd the general Good-will and Concurrence of the *Greeks*, he proceeded to form his Design for the Invasion of *Persia*; publishing his Motives to be no other, than to revenge the Injuries done to the *Greeks*, by those of that Nation, and accordingly proceeded to make provision of all things necessary to sustain and carry on that vast Undertaking. So that we are thus to reckon, that the Causes of the *Persian*-War were no others than those we first mention'd, the Pretexts what we have recited, and the Beginning to be *Alexander's* transporting his Troops into *Asia*.

It is likewise past dispute, that the distaste the *Ætolians* had conceiv'd against the *Romans*, was the cause of the War that broke out betwixt *Antiochus* and Them. For the *Ætolians*, towards the end of the War with *Philip*, beginning to perceive themselves slighted by the *Romans*, did not only invite over *Antiochus*, as we have noted, but determin'd to do and suffer any thing to compass their Revenge. The Pretext for that War was the Liberty of *Greece*, to the defence whereof the *Ætolians* drew the *Greeks* from all

all parts to joyn with *Antiochus*; and the arrival of that Prince at the head of an Army to *Demetrius*, was the beginning of the War.

I have rested the longer on this subject, of showing the difference between these three Points, not only to detect the Errors of some Historians; but to the end the studious may be instructed and set right, in case they should be mislead by their false Lights. For to what end is the Physician call'd to the sick Patient, if he should be ignorant of the Causes of our Diseases? In like manner, it would be in vain to call such to the administration of Publick Affairs, who want Judgment to distinguish of the Causes, and Reasons, and Events of things.

And there can be no dispute but both the Physician and Minister of State will miscarry, while the one is to seek for the Causes of our Infirmities, and the other not duly instructed in those necessary Points we have noted. There is nothing then that calls for more of our care and study to acquire, than a right knowledge of the Springs and Causes of Events, for very often it fortunes, that the greatest things are bred out of slight beginnings, and Remedies may be found with ease for Evils in their infancy and first approaches.

Fabius the Historian reports, that not only the Injuries done to the *Saguntines*, but the Avarice and Ambition of *Asdrubal*, were the cause of the War with *Hannibal*. That after

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Asdrubal had strengthen'd himself by his great Power and Acquisitions in *Spain*, he made a Voyage into *Africk*, where he attempted with all his Might to subvert and abolish the Laws and Constitutions of his Country, and to change the Republick of *Carthage* into a Monarchy; but that the principal Citizens suspecting his Design, oppos'd and totally abandon'd him, who, after he had vainly urg'd his Project, return'd at length into *Spain*, where he govern'd absolutely without any regard to the Authority of the Senate of *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal*, who took part in all his Adventures, and pursu'd his steps in every thing, did both succeed and imitate *Asdrubal* in the Design he had form'd; and soon after he of his own head declar'd War against the *Romans*, contrary to the inclination of the Senate; and that there was not one of any Condition or Authority among the *Carthaginians*, who did not disapprove his proceedings against the *Saguntines*. He further adds, That after the taking of that Town, the *Romans* dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Carthage*, to require the delivering up of *Hannibal*, or on refusal to declare War against them. But now if it should be demanded of *Fabius*, whether the *Carthaginians* could have done a juster or wiser thing, than to have comply'd with the demand of the *Romans* in yielding up *Hannibal*; for if, as he says, his Proceedings displeas'd them, what safer or more profitable

stable course could they have taken to be rid of one who stood tainted with the Character of a common Enemy to his Country? They had thereby establish'd the Security of the State, and by a single Decree of the Senate, deliver'd themselves from the War which threaten'd them: What now would our Historian be able to say to all this? certainly he would be greatly to seek for an answer. But the *Carthaginians* were so far from such Deliberations, that on the contrary they steadfastly prosecuted the War, which was begun by the Opinion of *Hannibal*, for the space of seventeen Years together; and did not yield to relinquish it, till they were quite hopeless of success, and beheld both their Fortune and Country sinking.

But why have I thus enlarg'd on *Fabius* and his History? 'Tis not because I conceive it to be written with such a fashion of Truth, as to fear that some one or other might be perswaded to believe it. For in short, all that he hath deliver'd hath so little show of Reason or Probability, that without any Remarks of mine, it is very easie to perceive him a faithless Author by the Matter he delivers: I would therefore only barely advertise the Readers of his History, not so much to consult the Title of the Book, as the Verity of things; for there are those who are more bias'd by the Character of a Speaker, than the Matter he delivers; and while they

reflect that *Fabius* was a Senator of *Rome*, and liv'd in these times, they conclude that all he says, hath the stamp of Truth: For my own part, as I will not affirm he ought in every thing to be rejected; so I will take the liberty to think we are not to trust him before our own Eyes. To return therefore to our Discourse; It was the indignation of *Hamilcar Barcas*, Father of *Hannibal*, that ought to be esteem'd the first cause of that War between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. For after the *Sicilian War*, as it was visible he lost nothing of his greatness of Mind, and firmness of Resolution, by his preserving the Legions under his Command at *Erix* unbroken; and that albeit after the *Carthaginians* defeat at Sea, he was compell'd to dissemble his Resentments, and yield to a treaty of Peace with the *Romans*; his Anger was not however extinguish'd, and he labour'd after nothing more than to find an occasion of renewing the War; and had soon brought his purpose to effect, had not the *Carthaginians* been diverted by the Sedition of their Mercenaries, so great was his Authority; but being prevented by by those Commotions, he was constrain'd to apply himself first to compose the Disorders that happen'd in his own Country.

After these Tumults were over, the *Romans* declar'd War against the *Carthaginians*, who readily at first embrac'd the occasion, hoping for Victory from the justice of their Cause,

Cause, as we have already shown. But as the *Romans* had no regard to the Argument of the Quarrel; so the *Carthaginians* finding at length it wou'd be their safest course to yield to necessity, submitted with great reluctance to deliver up *Sardinia*; and further, to buy off the danger of a War, they yielded to a Stipulation, over and above the first Tribute, to pay yearly the summ of twelve hundred Talents; whereupon it may be safely reckon'd, that this Disgrace became a second, and the greatest cause of the War that ensu'd. In short, *Hamilcar* perceiving now the Indignation of his Fellow-Citizens to concur with his own, that he had appeas'd the Disorders of his Country, which was now in Tranquility, and the Government establish'd, turn'd his Thoughts towards *Spain*, from whence he propos'd to derive Succours, and all sorts of Assistance to further his Project of War upon the *Romans*. We are to reckon for the third cause of that War, the great success of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, by which being reinforc'd by so many Helps and Advantages, they chearfully prosecuted the Design. In short, it may be collected by manifold Instances, that *Hamilcar* was the Author of the second *Punick War*, albeit he liv'd not to the beginning of the enterprize by eight Years, which will be better understood by what follows.

After *Hannibal's* Defeat by the *Romans*, being constrain'd to fly his Country, he made his retreat to the Court of *Antiochus*; the *Romans*, who foresaw the purposes of the *Ætolians*, dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Antiochus*, the better to pry into the Designs of that Prince; and after they had discover'd that *Antiochus* was determin'd to take part with the *Ætolians*, and consequently to ingage in a War with the *Romans*, they thereupon began to visit and hold Conferences with *Hannibal*, with no other intention than to render him susp^d to *Antiochus*; which Plot succeeded to their wish. And as *Antiochus's* Jealousies grew every Day greater, they came at length to a mutual opening of each others Mind on the subject of the Diffidence that was grown between them, and tho' *Hannibal* said much to purge himself of the Imputation he lay under; yet perceiving it avail'd little, he came at length to impart to *Antiochus*, that when *Hamilcar* went into *Spain* at the head of an Army, he being then about nine Years old, his Father sacrificing for the success of the Voyage, after the Ceremony was ended, and he had perform'd all the customary Rites practis'd on those occasions, he caus'd the rest of the Company to withdraw; and making him approach to the Altar, he there gently demanded of him, If he were inclin'd to accompany him in his Voyage to *Spain*? To which he joyfully reply'd, That
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he would go most willingly : And after he had besought him with all the moving Reasons which a Child was capable to urge, that he would take him with him, his Father then taking him by the Hand, led him to the Altar ; where he made him swear on the same Altar, That he would never be in Friendship with the *Romans*. Wherefore he besought *Antiochus* to rest assured, That he could never change his Sentiments towards that People ; and that if he had determin'd any thing against them, that he would make no difficulty to rely on his Secresie and Fidelity ; and that he would serve him with joy and sincerity : But that if he should enter into Terms of Friendship and Alliance with the *Romans*, there should be no need of suggesting Accusations against him, who would himself be the first that should declare his Aversion to *Antiochus*, who in such case would have reason to hold him as an Enemy ; forasmuch as he could never be other than a mortal Foe to the *Romans*, against whom he would attempt all things to the utmost of his power.

By this Discourse of *Hannibal*, *Antiochus* perceiving he spoke from his Heart, was cur'd of the Jealousie he had conceiv'd of him.

Behold here a singular Instance of the Hatred of *Hamilcar*, and of the Determination he had taken, which was yet made more visible by the effects : For he bequeath'd two

such Enemies to the *Romans*, in *Asdrubal* his Son-in-Law, and *Hannibal* his Son, as nothing could be thought to surmount their Hatred. But *Asdrubal* liv'd not to put his Purposes in execution, while *Hannibal* surviv'd to wreak abundantly the Aversion he had inherited from his Father. Which furnishes safe Advice to those who have the Administration of Publick Affairs, to consult carefully the Minds and Motives of those with whom they treat a Reconciliation, or with whom they make a new Friendship; whether it be by force or necessity of the Times, or an effect of Good-will, as weary of Hostility: For against the one we are to be carefully on our guard, as being such who only attend the Advantage of a new Occasion, while we may rely with assurance on the others, and treat them with the sincerity of Subjects or of Friends.

We may justly then esteem these for the Causes of the War made by *Hannibal*; and the Beginnings to be what we shall now further deliver. The *Carthaginians* had deeply resented their loss of *Sicily*; but after they had been compell'd to part with *Sardinia*, and to pay the heavy Tribute they had contracted, their Hatred grew to excess, inso-much that when they had augmented their Dominion, by the Conquest of so great a part of *Spain*, they began to lend a more willing ear to the Clamours every where utter'd

ter'd against the *Romans*. In the mean time they lost *Asdrubal*, to whom, after the Death of *Hamilcar*, they had given the Government of *Spain*. The *Carthaginians*, upon the death of *Asdrubal*, remain'd a while in suspense, touching their choice of a new General, being willing to sound first the Inclinations of the Army; but they no sooner understood that the Soldiers had unanimously made choice of *Hannibal* for their Leader, when they forthwith call'd an Assembly, and ratify'd with one Voice the Suffrages of the Soldiers. Soon after *Hannibal's* confirmation in his Government, he deliberated on reducing the *Olcades* under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*; pursuant to which Design, he march'd against the City of *Althæa*, a rich and well-fortify'd Place, and sat down before it; in which Siege he gave so many Marks of his Bravery and Ability, that he soon became Master of the Place; where his Success so terrify'd the neighbouring Towns, that they readily yielded themselves up to the *Carthaginians*. After he had amass'd much Treasure, by the sale of the Booty he had taken in the several Towns, he march'd to *New-Carthage*, which he made his Winter-Quarters; where he express'd great Generosity to those who had serv'd under him; and paying the Soldiers their Arrears, and promising further Marks of his Bounty, he so won upon the Affections of the Army, that they had

already conceiv'd extraordinary hopes of his Government.

Early the next Spring he march'd against the *Vaccæans*, and soon became Master of *Salmantica*: Then he besieg'd *Arbucala*; which Place being great, well-peopl'd, and the Inhabitants obstinate in their defence, gave him much trouble; but in the end the Town was surrender'd; but on his return being attack'd by the *Carpetanians*, a People reckon'd among the most powerful of those Nations, he became on the sudden reduc'd to very great straits; for these being join'd by those of the neighbouring Provinces, whom the *Olcades* (being driven out of their Country) had incens'd against the *Carthaginians*; with whom came likewise those who had fled from *Salmantica*, insomuch as if they could have compell'd *Fiannibal* to a pitch'd Field, he had doubtless been driven to great extremity. But he, who was singular both in Prudence and Dexterity, so artfully made his retreat (covering himself by the *Tagus*) and contriv'd so to attack them in their passage over that River, that what by the help thereof, and the service of forty Elephants he had with him, he happily effected what he had design'd, when every body was in despair. In short, the Enemy being determin'd to attempt their utmost, resolv'd to pass the River by several Fords at once; but being encounter'd by the Elephants, which were posted
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along the Banks for that service, great numbers were slain as they came to Land, before any could come in to their succour; many were likewise cut off by the Horse, who mingled in the River with the Enemy, where, by the strength of their Horses, which better resisted the Current than the Foot, and fighting from a higher place, they had much the advantage. In a word, *Hannibal* at length pass'd the River himself; and vigorously pursuing his success, routed an Army of above an hundred thousand of these Barbarians; who being thus defeated, there remain'd none on that side the River *Eber*, except the *Saguntines*, that could give him any molestation. But *Hannibal* cautiously abstain'd from any the least Hostility against that People, pursuant to the Advice of *Asdrubal*; which was, To make himself first Master of the rest of the Country, and insure his Conquests there, before he gave occasion openly to the *Romans* to declare War against the *Carthaginians*.

In the meantime, the *Saguntines* dispatch'd frequent Advices to the *Romans*, led thereunto partly out of fear and foresight of their own impending Danger, partly likewise out of Goodwill; to the end the *Romans* might be perfectly instructed in the Successes of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*. In short, after a cold reception of many of these Intimations, they determin'd at length to dispatch Ambassadors

into *Spain*, to be eye-witnesses of those things whereof they had been inform'd. About which time *Hannibal*, having subdu'd all those People which he had purpos'd to reduce, was march'd to *New-Carthage* to his Winter-Quarters, that Place being as it were the Capital City of those Countries, that yielded Obedience to the *Carthaginians*: There he found the *Roman* Ambassadors; and giving them audience, was by them caution'd to attempt nothing against the *Saguntines*, who were receiv'd into the protection of the *Romans*; and that pursuant to the Treaty made with *Asdrubal*, they should not pass their Troops beyond the River *Eber*. To this *Hannibal* (who was yet but young, and ardently ambitious of military Glory, fortunate in his Enterprizes, and mortally hating the *Romans*) reply'd by way of complaint against them, feigning to favour those of *Saguntum*, and telling the Ambassadors, That upon a certain Sedition that happen'd some time ago in the said City, that the *Romans* being chosen to arbitrate their Differences, and to reduce the Citizens to Peace and Union, had unjustly animadverted on certain of the principal Inhabitants; which perfidious Action of theirs, he held himself oblig'd to see reveng'd; and that the *Carthaginians* inherited that Custom from their Ancestors, to procure Justice to be done to the Oppress'd. At the same time he sent to *Carthage* for Instru-

structions how to proceed, while the *Saguntines*, encourag'd by their Alliance with the *Romans*, acted many Outrages against those who were now under the *Carthaginian* subjection. Thus *Hannibal*, transported by a violent Hatred, acted in every thing without consulting his Reason, and never troubling himself with the truth of Matters, founded Pretexts on false Suggestions; after the manner of those, who, prepossess'd by their Passion, do what they have determin'd, without regard to Equity, or consideration of Honour: Otherwise, had it not been more plausible to have demanded of the *Romans* the restitution of *Sardinia*, and the Money so long paid them by the *Carthaginians*, which they had wrung from them during the Weakness and Calamities of the Republick; and in case of refusal, to declare War against them? But as he conceal'd the true Cause, and had recourse to false Reasons for his Motive, it may be very justly suspected he enter'd into that War, not only without Reason, but against the common Right of Nations.

Wherefore the Ambassadors departing, went to *Carthage*, there to expostulate about what had already past; albeit, now well assur'd, that War would ensue, tho' without any jealousy it would break out in *Italy*, but in *Spain* rather, and that *Saguntum* would be as it were the Seat of Action; which they propos'd as a proper Fortrefs and Place of Arms:

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This being the subject of the Senate's Deliberations, who concluding it would be a War likely to be drawn out at length, and being in a remote Country, they resolv'd therefore to give first a Period to their Affairs in *Illyria*. For at that time *Demetrius* the *Pharian* forgetting his Obligations to the *Romans* his Benefactors, had given them some Marks of his Ingratitude, and understanding how they were molested by the Incursions of the *Gauls*, and were likely to have to do with the *Carthaginians*, made now little account of their Friendship, and plac'd his greatest hopes in the King of *Macedon*, and during the *Cleomenick* War had joyn'd with *Antigonus*. *Demetrius* then resolv'd to pillage and reduce the Towns of *Illyria* under his Dominion, which were now in possession of the *Romans*; and having sail'd beyond *Lissa* with a Fleet of fifty Ships, contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, he ravag'd most of the Islands of the *Cyclades*. So that the *Romans* having notice of these Infractions, and being over and above well inform'd of the present Prosperity of the *Macedonians*, concluded that it behov'd them to have a careful Eye to their Affairs in the Provinces Eastward of *Italy*: Nor were they without hopes of defeating the Designs of *Hannibal*, of making the *Illyrians* to repent their Folly, and punishing the Perfidy and rash Behaviour of *Demetrius*. But these prov'd vain Deliberations, for *Hannibal* was

too much in earnest and prevented them, and in the mean time became Master of *Saguntum*, which Success was the cause that they were not only oblig'd to make War in *Spain*, but in *Italy*, for the defence of *Rome* it self. Howbeit the *Romans*, pursuant to their first Project, sent *Lucius Æmilius* into *Illyria* with an Army early in the Spring, being in the first Year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, at which time *Hannibal* parted with his Army from New *Carthage* towards *Saguntum*.

This City is situate about a Mile from the Sea, at the foot of those Mountains which part *Spain* from *Celtiberia*. The Territory of *Saguntum* is very fertile, abounding in all sorts of excellent Fruits, wherein no part of *Spain* exceeds it. *Hannibal* sits down before it, and attacks it with so much the more diligence, by how much he judg'd the reducing such a Place by plain force, would greatly avail towards his compassing those Ends he had further meditated. In a word, he conceiv'd he should by that means deprive the *Romans* of all hope of making War in *Spain*; and further, made account, that terrify'd by his Success, those he had already vanquish'd, would be thereby held in better Obedience, and preserve their Faith unbroken; that those who were yet unconquer'd would stand in greater awe of his Power; and what was yet of greater consequence, he should

should be able to advance his Enterprizes with more security, having no Enemy at his back. Furthermore he calculated, that the taking of this Town would yield him great Supplies of Treasure for carrying on the War; that his Army would be more at his Devotion, when he had enrich'd them with Booty; and that he should be enabled the better to purchase and establish his Interest among the *Carthaginians*, by distributing among them the Spoils of the Vanquish'd. These Reflections incited his Industry to press the Besieg'd with greater Application; so that becoming himself an Example to the Army, by working in the Trenches among the Soldiers, animating them in Person, mingling with them in all Hazards, and incessantly attending the Labours of the Siege, he became in the space of eight Months, Master of the Place. Great Booty was there taken both in Money, Prisoners, and rich Movables. The Treasure he took to himself for the Service of the War he had projected against the *Romans*; the Prisoners he distributed to the Army in proportion to their Merit; and the rest he dispatch'd in Presents to his Friends in *Carthage*. Nor did *Hannibal* make a wrong reckoning; for the Soldiers were oblig'd, and became more hardy in danger, and the *Carthaginians* were won to consent more readily to all his Propositions; and being himself now supply'd and furnish'd

furnish'd with whatever he wanted, he prosecuted his Enterprizes with greater promptitude.

About the same time *Demetrius*, having Intelligence of the *Romans* purpose, put with expedition a Garrison into *Dimalus*, which Place he supply'd with Stores of War and all things necessary; and after he had destroy'd in the other Towns all those that were of the contrary Faction, and bestow'd the Governments on his Creatures, he selected five thousand of the ablest Men from among his own Subjects, and plac'd them in Garrison in *Pharus*. In the mean time the *Roman* Consul led his Legions into *Illyria*, where receiving intimation of the confidence the Enemy was in of the Safety and Strength of *Dimalus*, and being further advis'd, that the Place had the Reputation of having never yet been taken, he therefore resolv'd to begin his Campaigne there, the better to terrifie and discourage the Enemy. After therefore he had exhorted his Army to behave themselves as they ought, and caus'd his Engines and Machines to approach in several places, he began the Siege, and in seven Days space took the Town. This Celerity of the *Romans* possess'd the Enemy with so much Fear, that they lost their Courage, and Deputies were immediately dispatch'd from all the Towns round about with Tenders of Submission to the *Romans*; which
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the Consul receiv'd respectively under certain Stipulations, and then made sail toward *Pharus*, where *Demetrius* then was. But being inform'd that the Place was strongly fortify'd, and that there was a numerous Garrison of able Men within it, and the Town plentifully furnish'd with all things needful, he therefore judging the Siege was likely to be a difficult and tedious Work, bethought himself of this Stratagem; Arriving with his Army by Night on the Coast, he landed most of his Troops, with direction to conceal themselves in Woods, and Places proper to hide them from the view of the Enemy, and in the Morning makes sail towards the next Port with twenty Gallies only, in sight of the Town; *Demetrius* thereupon observing and contemning their number, marches out of the Town with part of the Garrison to oppose their landing; so the Battel began, which was prosecuted with great obstinacy, Supplies of Men being constantly sent from the Town to sustain their Fellows, insomuch that at length by degrees the whole Garrison march'd out; in the mean while the *Romans*, who had landed in the Night, advanc'd, covering themselves all they could in their march, and possess'd themselves of an Eminence so situate, that it defended it self, between the Town and the Port, whereby they cut off the Enemies retreat to the Town. This being observ'd by *Demetrius*, he soon disingag'd

disingag'd himself from those who attempted to land, and after he had rally'd and animated his Men, marches to attack the others, who had posted themselves on the Mountain.

The *Romans* therefore, seeing the *Illyrians* advancing toward them, met and charg'd them with unspeakable Resolution, while those that were landed attack'd them in the Rear. Infomuch as finding themselves thus hard press'd on all sides, the Army of *Demetrius*, no longer able to sustain the shock of the *Romans*, was put to flight; some of them escap'd to the Town, but the greatest part dispers'd themselves about the Island, covering themselves among the Rocks and inaccessible Places. *Demetrius* himself got aboard certain Vessels which he had plac'd in a neighbouring Creek to serve him in such an exigent, and departing by Night, retir'd to the Court of King *Philip*, (when every Body gave him for lost) in whose Service he ended his days. A hardy Man he was, but without Judgment, which appear'd by the manner of his Death; for endeavouring, pursuant to the King's Orders, to put himself into *Messena*, hazarding too far in that Attempt, he perish'd, as shall be shown in its proper place. As to the Consul, he forthwith got possession of *Pharus*, which Town he presently demolished. In short, after he had reduc'd the whole Kingdom of *Illyria* to Obedience,

Obedience, and perform'd all things in that Expedition to his own Mind, he return'd toward the end of the Summer to *Rome*, where he obtain'd a magnificent Triumph, and acquir'd the Reputation of a wise and gallant Leader.

The *Romans* now receiving News of the loss of *Saguntum*, deliberated no longer about entering into the War, as some Authors have said, who pretend to have recorded the Opinions of both Parties, and have most absurdly reason'd thereupon, for what likelihood was there that the *Romans* should now be undetermin'd about the War, when but the Year before they had stipulated to declare Hostility whensoever the *Carthaginians* should attempt any Violence against the *Saguntines*, whose City they had now destroy'd? And can there be any thing more like Untruth than to tell us, That the Senate was in great Consternation; adding, that twelve Youths, not exceeding the Age of twelve Years, being introduc'd into the Senate by their Fathers, and being privy to what had been there resolv'd, discover'd not the least riddle of what was decreed to be kept secret? This too certainly hath a great appearance of Falshood, unless it can be made appear, that over and above their many other Advantages, Fortune had endu'd the Childhood of the *Romans* with the Sagacity of Counsellors.

But

But we have remark'd enough of these sort of Writings ; namely, such as have been publish'd by *Chæreas* and *Sofilus*, who, according to the Judgment I am able to make, have deliver'd nothing that merits the name of History ; but ought to be held as Fables and Tales, such as are vulgarly told to entertain the People. The *Romans* then receiving Intelligence of what had been done at *Saguntum*, in violation of the Treaty, made choice of Ambassadors for that Service, and dispatch'd them to *Carthage*, with Instructions to propose two Conditions ; whereof the one menac'd the *Carthaginians* with loss and dishonour, the other with a dangerous and doubtful War : For they demanded, either that *Hannibal* and his Abettors should be deliver'd up to the discretion of the *Romans* ; or in case of refusal, a War to be forthwith declar'd. When the Ambassadors were come to *Carthage*, and had audience of the Senate, they deliver'd their Message, which was but coldly receiv'd by the *Carthaginians* : Nevertheless, one of their Senators who was best qualify'd, was commanded to set forth the equity and unblameableness of their Proceedings ; but he therein mentions nothing of the Treaty of *Asdrubal*, no more than if such a Treaty had never been ; at least he told them, That if such an Agreement had been made, it was of no validity, as being transacted without the privity or consent of

the People and Senate of *Carthage*. And an Example was produc'd of the like practice of the *Romans*, touching the Peace made by the Consul *Lutatius* during the *Sicilian War*; which, in a word, *Lutatius* had ratify'd, when notwithstanding it was rejected by the People of *Rome*, as not having been done by their allowance. They insisted warmly on the Conditions of that Treaty of Peace, and referr'd particularly to that which was made at the end of the *Sicilian War*; wherein they maintain'd, That no mention was made of *Spain*, but reservation only of the Allies of either Party, which were the precise Conditions of that Treaty. They further proceeded to show, that *Saguntum* was not at that time in alliance with the *Romans*; which the better to prove, they caus'd the Articles of that Treaty to be publickly read. As to the *Romans*, they reply'd, That the Argument was not a dispute about Words, and that regard was to be had only to the truth of Fact; namely, whether *Saguntum* had been attack'd and taken, or no? For if Matters had remain'd in the posture wherein they were, Words might suffice to finish the Dispute; but that City being now taken, whereby the Treaty was become violated, they were oblig'd either to deliver up the Authors of that Infraction, which would witness to the World, That the *Carthaginians* were guiltless of the Fault
that

that had been committed, and that *Hannibal* had of his own head, without their privity, acted that violence; or in case they refus'd, and, on the contrary, were dispos'd to own themselves Accessaries with *Hannibal*; that they then would do well in one word to explain themselves, and put an issue to the Dispute. Thus the *Romans* ended their Discourse, speaking nothing but in general Terms. And here I cannot well omit what I am about to say, to the end those whom it imports to be rightly instructed in Occurrences, may not be kept in ignorance of the Truth in deliberations of Moment; and that the Lovers of History, misled by the Errors or Passions of Historians, may not lose themselves through want of light into the Treaties, which have been made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, since the first *Punick* War.

The first Treaty that was made between them, was concluded during the Consulship of *Junius Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius*, who were the first *Roman* Consuls after the expulsion of their Kings, at the time of the Consecration of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which was eight and twenty Years before the Voyage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*. We shall here record the very Words of the said Treaty, which we have interpreted with all the Fidelity we are able; for in truth the ancient *Roman* Language is so different from

what is now spoken, that those who are most conversant therein, find difficulty enough to explain certain hard Places, after the expence of much Time and Study. The said first Treaty is conceiv'd in the following Terms:

There shall be Peace and Friendship between the Romans, and the Allies of the Romans, and between the Carthaginians, and the Allies of the Carthaginians, on the following Conditions; viz. That the Romans, and the Allies of the Romans, shall not navigate beyond the Fair Promontory, unless constrain'd by Tempest, or an Enemy. If at any time they shall chance to be forc'd a-shoar, they shall not be permitted to buy any thing, nor take any thing but what they need for repairing their Vessels, and for their Sacrifices. That none shall make longer stay a-shoar than five Days. That those who shall come as Merchants, shall pay no other Duty than what is allow'd to the Common Cryer and Register: That these two Officers shall make Affidavit of what shall be bought and sold in their presence, as well in Africa as Sardinia. If the Romans shall chance at any time to visit such Places in Sicily, as are in subjection to the Carthaginians, they shall not suffer any molestation whatsoever, but shall have Justice done them in all things. That the Carthaginians shall attempt nothing against the Ardiates, the Antiates, the Arretines, those of Laurentum, of Circe, and of Tarracina;

Tarracina; nor, in a word, any of the Latins whomsoever that shall be in subjection to the Romans; nor shall they attempt any of their Towns, that are under the Roman Protection; and in case they should at any time make seizure of any Town, they shall restore the same to the Romans without any damage. That they shall not build either Fort or Citadel in the Country of the Latins; and in case they should at any time invade their Lands in hostile manner, they shall not remain a Night among them.

The Promontory, here call'd the *Fair Promontory*, is near *Carthage*, tending toward the North; the *Carthaginians* not permitting the *Romans* to navigate to the Southwards of that, unwilling, I believe, that they should obtain any knowledge of the Places and Country about *Byzaces*, or the *Lesser Syrtis*, where that Territory is call'd the *Empories*, by reason of the great Fertility of these Parts; that if any one, compell'd by Tempest, or the Enemy, should chance to touch there, and should want Necessaries for the refitting of their Vessels, or for their Sacrifices, these were permitted them; but nothing was to be taken by force; and that those who should so land, should be oblig'd to depart in five Days. But the *Romans* were permitted to have Trade and Commerce with *Carthage*, and the rest of *Africk* on this side the said Promontory, as

likewise in *Sardinia*, and in those Places in *Sicily*, that were under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*: In which Intercourse, the *Carthaginians* promise to do Justice to all, and not to violate the Rights of any. Nay, it appears by this Treaty, that the *Carthaginians* spake of *Sardinia*, and of *Africa*, as of their own Dominions; but they speak differently of *Sicily*, distinguishing plainly between what was, and what was not in subjection to them in that Island: In like manner the *Romans*, in the same Treaty, speak of the Country of the *Latins*, not making mention of the rest of *Italy*, as not being then under their Dominion.

In short, these two People came after to another Treaty, wherein the *Carthaginians* compriz'd the *Tyrians*, and those of *Utica*; but with adding to the *Fair Promontory Mastia* and *Tarseius*, not permitting the *Romans* to build Towns, nor ravage the Country beyond it. See the Treaty it self.

That the Romans, and their Allies, shall have Friendship and Confederacy with the People of Carthage, together with the Tyrians; and those of Utica, and their Allies, on condition that they exercise no Hostility, nor manage any Commerce or Traffick, nor build any Towns beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, or Tarseius: That if the Carthaginians shall take any Town in the Territory of the Latins
that

that is not in the Roman Protection, they shall enjoy the Pillage thereof; but the Town shall be restor'd, and put into the hands of the Romans. That if the Carthaginians shall at any time take any Prisoners with whom the Romans are in Amity by any Treaty, and albeit they are not in subjection to the Romans, they shall not bring the said Persons into any Port of the Romans; and that in case any such Prisoner should be so brought and discover'd, he shall, upon being challeng'd, be forthwith releas'd and set at liberty. That the Romans shall be treated in the same manner, in the Ports depending on the Carthaginians. That if the Romans shall put in at any Port of the Carthaginians Dependants to take in Water and Refreshment, not any of those who are compriz'd in this Treaty of Friendship, shall offer them any Injury or Molestation; if otherwise, the Crime shall be understood to be a Publick Breach of the Treaty. As to Sardinia and Africa, the Romans shall have no Commerce there, where they shall neither traffick, build Towns; nor, in a word, so much as attempt to land on these Coasts, unless it be to supply their Necessities, and refit their Ships. That if in case any shall be compell'd by Tempest, or otherwise, to take Refuge in their Ports, they shall depart in five Days; but that the Romans shall have free intercourse to traffick; buy, and sell in any of the Towns in Sicily, under the Dominion of the Carthaginians, and in the City of

Carthage it self; where they shall enjoy the same Rights and Privileges with the Citizens of Carthage; and the Carthaginians shall have right to the like Treatment in Rome.

The *Carthaginians* seem by this Treaty to make it yet more evident, that they accounted of *Sardinia* and *Africa* as their own, and so it was no injury to the *Romans* to be by them forbidden any intercourse there. On the other hand, when they make mention of *Sicily*, they use another Stile, speaking of the Places only in that Island that paid Obedience to the *Carthaginians*. The *Romans* explaining themselves after the same manner, when they speak of the Territory of the *Latins*, stipulating that no Injury shall be done to the *Ardiates*, *Antiates*, those of *Circe* and *Tarracina*, which are Maritime Towns on the Coast of the *Latins*, and were comprehended in that Treaty.

The last Treaty, that was enter'd into by these two People, was made about the time that *Pyrrhus* invaded *Italy*, before the *Carthaginians* enter'd into the War, which they wag'd for the Dominion of *Sicily*. The Articles were transcrib'd from those that went before, saving that they added these that follow: *That if the People of Rome, or the Carthaginians, shall chance to enter into Alliance with Pyrrhus, they shall however mutually assist each other in case of eithers being invaded*
by

by the Enemy; and whichsoever of them shall stand in need of Succours, the Carthaginians shall furnish Vessels of Transport for that Service, as likewise for the War: That each Party shall pay their own Troops respectively: That the Carthaginians shall lend Aid to the Romans by Sea, if they shall need it; but that neither Party shall at any time compel the other to put to Sea with their Vessels.

In short, the Oath of Ratification was made after this manner: The Carthaginians first swore by the Gods of their Country; and the Romans, after their own ancient Custom, swore by a Stone, and then by Mars. Behold how they swore by the Stone: The Herald who took the Oath, after having sworn in behalf of the Publick, takes up a Stone, and then pronounces these words: *If I keep my Faith, may the Gods vouchsafe their Assistance, and give me success: If on the contrary I violate it, then may the other Party be entirely safe, and preserv'd in their Country, in their Laws, in their Possessions; and in a word, in all their Rights and Liberties; and may I perish and fall alone, as now this Stone does.* And then he lets the Stone fall out of his Hand.

If such Treaties were then usual, and that the *Ædiles* had them in their keeping in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, engrav'd in Plates of Copper, is it not strange that not only *Philinus* the Historian should be ignorant

rant of this Custom, but that many of the ancient *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, (other-wise esteem'd well vers'd in Publick Affairs) should be likewise totally to seek therein? But for him with confidence to affirm, that it was agreed in that Treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, that the *Romans* should entirely abandon *Sicily*, and the *Carthaginians* *Italy*, and that this Treaty was violated by the *Romans*, when they pass'd over into *Sicily*, tho' it be most certain that such a Stipulation never was, and that there be not the least shadow of ground to believe there ever was any such Treaty; yet our Historian fairly records it, as may be seen in his Second Book, whereof having already said something in the beginning of this our Work, we forbore then to enlarge thereon, and now observe that many having been misled by this Author, have been paid with Falshoods instead of Truth. And certainly whosoever condemns the Voyage of the *Romans* into *Sicily*, let it be cover'd with never so fair Pretexts, their making Alliance with the *Mamertines*, and shortly after yielding them the Succours they demanded, notwithstanding they had criminally surpriz'd *Rhegium* and *Messina*, they may perhaps herein have reason to blame their proceeding. But when they believe the *Romans* pass'd into *Sicily*, contrary to their Oath, and in violation of the Treaty, they are manifestly deceiv'd.

Ano-

Another Treaty was made at the determination of the War in *Sicily*, the principal Conditions whereof being as followeth: That the *Carthaginians* shall retire out of *Sicily*, and out of all the *Islands* betwixt that and *Italy*: That the *Allies* of neither Party shall be injur'd or molested by either of them: That the one shall have no Authority in the others *Dominions*, where they shall neither build any *Fortress*, nor levy *Soldiers* for the War: That neither shall enter into *Confederacy* with those with whom the other is in *Alliance*: That the *Carthaginians* shall pay, within the space of ten Years, the sum of two thousand two hundred *Talents*, whereof one thousand in hand, and shall enlarge all the *Roman Prisoners* *Ransom-free*.

Upon the *Romans* decreeing War against them, after their misfortunes with their *Mercenaries* in *Africk*, these Articles were added to the above Treaty: That the *Carthaginians* shall abandon the *Island* of *Sardinia*, and shall further pay the sum of one thousand two hundred *Talents*, as we have already noted. All these Treaties preceded that which was made with *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, which was the very last wherein it was stipulated, That the *Carthaginians* should not pass their Arms beyond the *River Eber*. These are the sum of all the Treaties that were made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, from the first *Punick* War to that of *Hannibal*.

And

And now since no Proof appears, that the *Romans* violated their Faith by their Voyage into *Sicily*; so in their Acquisition of *Sardinia*, according to the Articles of Peace, no Pretext or shadow of any Cause can be discover'd of the Second *Punick* War. While no Body questions but the *Carthaginians* deserted *Sardinia*, and parted with those vast sums of Money, being unrighteously compell'd thereunto during the Calamity of their Affairs. In short, the *Romans* do but trifle when they tell us for a Reason, that many of their People who held Commerce in *Africa* had been ill treated by the *Carthaginians*; that difference having been amicably compos'd upon the *Carthaginians* setting all those at liberty, who had been detain'd in their Ports; in acknowledgment whereof the *Romans* also quitted all their *Carthaginian* Prisoners without Ransom, as hath been observ'd in our First Book. Matters then standing thus, it will behove us to inquire, which of these two People gave occasion for the War of *Hannibal*.

We have already recited the *Carthaginians* Reasons, and shall now observe what the *Romans* have to say for themselves. True it is, that albeit the *Romans* were highly provok'd at the destruction of *Saguntum*, nevertheless they did not then show their Resentments. Afterwards indeed, they and many others besides would often say, That they ought not

to understand the Treaty of *Asdrubal* to be void, as the *Carthaginians* are bold to say; for this Clause was added in that made by *Lotatius*: *That it should be firm and inviolable if the People of Rome ratify'd it.* But *Asdrubal's* Peace was confirm'd by an ample and plenary Authority, wherein it was accorded, *That the Carthaginians should not make War on the other side the Eber.* Now as to the Treaty that was made touching *Sicily*, that was conceiv'd as they themselves confess in these terms, — *That the Allies of the one and the other Party should not be attack'd or molested by either.* — Not only those who were at that time in the Confederacy, as the *Carthaginians* would understand it, for these terms were added, — *That it shall not be permitted to make new Alliances, or to exclude from the Treaty, those who were receiv'd into their Alliance, after that Peace was concluded.* But forasmuch as neither the one, nor the other Article was added to the Treaty, 'tis but just to believe, that all the Confederates of one and the other People, those who were at that time Ally'd, and those who were afterwards receiv'd into the Confederacy were comprehended therein, and that neither the one nor the other Party ought to molest them. For, in short, who would enter into terms of such restraint whereby they became bound up from making choice of such for Friends and Allies, whole Friendship and

and Alliance should be found profitable, or by which they should be oblig'd to relinquish their new Confederates upon any Outrage acted on them by the other Party? My Opinion therefore is, that the intention both of the one and other People in that Treaty is to be understood, that the one should not injure the Allies of the other; and that by no means the one Party was permitted to contract Alliance with the Confederates of the other; and in a word, that which follows ought to be interpreted of any new Alliances that should be made in times succeeding—
That the one Party shall not levy Men for the War, nor exercise any Authority in any of the Provinces of the others Dominions, or those of their Allies, who shall not be disturb'd by the one or the other Party.

This being so, it is likewise manifest, that the *Saguntines* were in Alliance with the *Romans* long before *Hannibal's* time, whereof the *Carthaginians* afford us good testimony: For upon a Sedition which happen'd in the City of *Saguntum*, they refus'd to make the *Carthaginians* Judges and Umpires of their Differences, albeit they were their Neighbours; for they had at that time establish'd their Authority in *Spain*, but made choice of the *Romans*, by whose Arbitration their Disorders were compos'd. And now if it be alledg'd, That the Destruction of *Saguntum* was the cause of that War, we must then necessarily

cessarily determine, That the *Carthaginians* began a very unjust War, whether regard be had either to the Treaty of *Lutatius*, whereby both Parties became mutually bound to offer no violence to their respective Allies; or whether in regard to that of *Asdrubal*, wherein it was not permitted to the *Carthaginians* to pass the River *Eber*. But then, on the other hand, if the cause of the War shall be attributed to the business of *Sardinia*, which was violently wrested by the *Romans* from the *Carthaginians*, together with the Money which was forcibly drawn from them, it will then be but justice to confess, That the *Carthaginians* did not unrighteously in entering on the War made by *Hannibal*: For as the *Romans* improv'd the occasion of the *Carthaginians* Distresses whereby to molest them, they did no more than lay hold on the like Opportunity against the *Romans*, when it serv'd their purpose.

It is not unlikely but that those who read not History with due Judgment, will be apt to tell me, That it seems a superfluous Work, to tarry thus long on the Subject we have been treating: If therefore such a one there be, whose Abilities can arm him against all Accidents, and who by the light of his own Understanding can penetrate every thing; to such I grant indeed, That the recounting of past Adventures may entertain him, tho' it ministers little or nothing to his Instruction.

But

But while we may safely doubt whether there be any such Man, as can with assurance so determine in his own private Affairs, or in what regards the Publick ; inasmuch as let the present State of his Fortune be never so prosperous, if he be a Man of sound Sence, he will not over-boldly pronounce touching the future. I will therefore take upon me to say, That a right knowledge of Things past, is not only delightful, but necessary : For whether we are invaded either in our private Capacity, or in our Country, How shall we be able to have recourse for succour, and acquire and obtain Friends at need, if we have never contemplated any thing but the present ? Or how shall we be enabled to add to what we have already conceiv'd, or propose to enter into War ? How shall we be qualify'd to engage others to take part with us, and favour our Enterprizes ? And how, in] a word, while we amuse our selves with present things, shall we be qualify'd to engage our own Subjects to acquiesce readily to such new Forms and Establishments in the State, as we shall suggest, while we remain ignorant of past Times, whence we are to derive our Arguments ? For Mankind, for the most part, is govern'd by the nearest Objects ; and we are aptest to be led to imitate present Examples, not reflecting how hard it is to judge of Men's Minds by their present Words and Comportments, modern Truth being for the most

most part disguis'd and wrapp'd in Clouds; while the Actions of our Ancestors declare manifestly, and conduct us to the knowledge of their Thoughts and Purposes, and tells and informs us from whom we ought to expect good Offices and Succours in our Distresses, and of whom we ought to suspect the contrary; who are likeliest to be touch'd with our Misfortunes, who will be likeliest to resent the Injuries we may receive, and engage to do us right. These are Points, without Controversie, of mighty importance in the Conduct of our Life, whether with regard to our private Fortune, or the Administration of the Publick. Therefore it is, that neither those who write History, nor those who read it, should so much rest on the account of the Actions themselves, as the things that preceded, or that occur'd at the same time, or succeeded them. For if History be defective in the Causes and Original of the Things we contemplate, the means by which they were brought to pass, and the end for which they were executed; and that if it be not made evident to our Understanding, how and in what proportion Events hold and bear with the Actions that have been perform'd, all beside this will be found it may be a delightful Entertainment; but no Profit or Instruction can result from it for our future guidance.

And if perchance any one should be of Opinion, That this our Work will find but few Readers, or such as will give it entertainment, by reason of the number and bulk of the Books it contains; yet this would happen only to those, who want discernment in the difference between purchasing and studying forty Books digested in order, and which regularly instruct the Reader by one continu'd Thread of Discourse in the Transactions of *Sicily* and *Africa*, from the time when *Timaeus* puts an end to his History of *Pyrrhus*, down to the taking of *Carthage*; and of all Occurrences in other Quarters of the World, from the flight of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, to the time wherein the Battel was fought between the *Romans* and *Achaians*, on the Borders of *Peloponnesus*. I say, they do not rightly consider the difference betwixt reading such a General History, and the searching after the several Books of other Authors, who have treated the same things distinctly and apart; for over and above that these Writings exceed what we have deliver'd both in number and measure, the fruit they yield for our Instruction will be less: For first, those Authors do not always agree in their Accounts of the same matters of Fact; and then they touch not on any contemporary Occurrences: And, after all, when you come to conferr them together, you shall be oblig'd to make another Judgment of what they report

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report so compar'd, than when you study and consider them singly and distinctly one from the other. Furthermore, that sort of History never arrives at the principal point of Utility; namely, to show (as we but now observ'd) what was the issue of such and such Actions, what was contemporary and principally the Causes of Events, which is that which animates the Body of History.

For to exemplify in our History, it will appear how the War of *Philip* gave occasion to that of *Antiochus*; and that of *Hannibal*, to the War of *Philip*; and the War of *Sicily*, to the *Hanniballick*, or second *Punick* War. In a word, by the study of General History, we easily arrive at the knowledge of many important Things that come to pass during such Wars, which contribute to the War themselves, and which by no means is attainable by the study of particular History; as namely, in the *Macedonian* War against *Perseus* or *Philip*; unless we can imagine it possible to be entirely instructed in the Art of War, upon reading only in History the description of Battels. But since this cannot be, I may presume to say, That this our Undertaking may be justly reckon'd as much superiour to Relations of single or particular Occurrences, as certain Knowledge is more noble than meerly to discourse by hear-say.

But to proceed : The *Roman* Ambassadors having heard the *Carthaginians* Reasons, made no other Answer than this : The gravest among them, pointing to his Bosom, told those of the Senate who were present, That they had brought with them both Peace and War; and, That it was left to the *Carthaginians* election to take which they pleas'd. To which the principal Senators reply'd, That they were willing to give the *Romans* the preference in the Choice. Whereupon the Ambassadors reply'd, That they then made War their Choice: Which the majority of the Senate accepted with Acclamations; whereupon they were dismiss'd.

In the mean while *Hannibal*, who held his Winter-Quarters at *New-Carthage*, gave leave to his *Spanish* Soldiers to retire to their respective Habitations, the better to dispose them to his service, when he should have occasion to call upon them. In short, he furnish'd *Asdrubal* his Brother with Instructions how to comport himself in his Government of *Spain*, in his absence; and in what manner he was to defend himself against the *Romans*, in case they should chance to separate. After this, his next chief care was to provide for the safety of *Africk*; and by a singular foresight and sagacity of Judgment, he supply'd *Spain* with Soldiers from *Africk*, and *Africk* with the like from *Spain*, the better to engage and tie those two People, as it were, by mutual Bonds,

Bonds, together. Those that were transported into *Africk*, were the *Thersites*, the *Mastians*, and the *Olcades*, and some *Spaniards* of the Mountains, composing altogether an Army of twelve hundred Horse, and thirteen thousand Foot. There were likewise Soldiers from the *Baleares*, who were a sort of Slingers; to whom, together with their Island, the *Greeks* gave that Name from the kind of Sling they us'd. It was found expedient to place the greatest part of these Troops in *Metagonia*, a Country and Promontory of *Africk*; and some were receiv'd into the City of *Carthage* it self. They likewise drew out of the *Metagonian* Territory three thousand Foot, who were sent to keep Garrison in *New-Carthage*, and to remain likewise as Hostages, But with *Asdrubal* in *Spain* he left fifty Quinque-reme Gallies, two Quadriremes, and five of Three Banks; of which number there were two and thirty of the Quinque-remes, and two Triremes that were equipp'd for War. He likewise left him four hundred and fifty *African* Horse, and of *Liby-Phœnicians*, a People mix'd of *Africans* and *Phœnicians*; three hundred *Lorgites*; eighteen hundred *Numidians*; *Massyles*, *Massæsydes*, *Macians* and *Mauritanians* who inhabit the Sea-Coast, eleven thousand eight hundred Foot; three hundred *Ligurians*, five hundred *Balearians*, and one and twenty Elephants. And here let it not seem a Wonder, that we have undertaken

to treat of *Hannibal's* proceeding at that time in *Spain*; thus minutely descending to so many particulars, that even those who had a share in the Conduct of those Affairs could not be thought to observe things more narrowly: Nor let me be condemn'd, if herein I imitate those, who to gain Belief and Credit with their Readers mingle their Falshoods with the like Particularities: For it being my lot at *Lacinium* to peruse there the engrav'd Tables, or Records of Copper, left by *Hannibal* during his abode in *Italy*, I made no difficulty to copy the Contents, since there was no reason to doubt the verity thereof.

When *Hannibal* had well provided for the safety of *Spain* and *Africk*, he then turn'd his Mind wholly to the business of some new Enterprizes, while he attended the return of his Ambassadors, who had been dispatch'd to the *Gauls*, for he well knew that the Country at the foot of the *Alpes*, and about the River *Po* was very fertile, and abounding in brave People given to War; and what was yet more to his wish, implacable haters of the *Romans* ever since the War they made on them. But of this we have expressly treated in our preceding Book, to the end to help the Reader to a clearer conception of what was to follow. *Hannibal* then us'd his utmost Diligence, and employ'd all his Forces to advance his purpose; he promis'd every thing liberally; he sent frequent Dispatches to the several

veral Princes of the *Gauls*, inhabiting on this side the *Alpes*, and in the Mountains themselves; conceiving it wou'd be a main step towards a happy issue of the War against the *Romans*, to compass his passage through those Countries we have nam'd; and that after having surmounted the many difficulties of a long march, to be able to ingage the *Gauls* to take part with him and joyn in the Enterprize, as he had labour'd to bring to pass. In short, after he had receiv'd an account by his Messengers, that the *Gauls* accorded to his Proposal, and expected him with impatience; and after they had inform'd him, that tho' the Passage of those Mountains was difficult, yet that it was not insuperable; he began to move his Army out of their Winter-Quarters early in the Spring. And having receiv'd intelligence of what had been determin'd at *Carthage*, his Hopes were greatly augmented, and beholding now his Purposes fortify'd by the concurrence of his Fellow-Citizens, he began openly to discourse of making War upon the *Romans*; and to exhort the Soldiers chearfully to ingage therein, he told them, that the *Romans* had the Impudence publickly to demand, that both he and his Chief Officers should be deliver'd up to them; he laid before them likewise the Fertility of the Country into which he would lead them, the Good-will of the *Gauls*, and the Confederacy he had made with them; and when the Army had

loudly proclaim'd their readines to march whithersoever he was dispos'd to command them, and he had gratefully applauded their chearful Behaviour, and had prefix'd the Day for their march, he dismiss'd the Assembly.

After he had duly provided for the security of *Africk* and *Spain*, and had spent the Winter in all necessary Deliberations, upon the Day he had appointed, the Army took the Field, consisting of fourscore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse. After he had pass'd the River *Eber* he reduc'd the *Illyrgeti* and *Bargusians*, the *Ærenosians*, and the *Andosins* or *Ausetans*, People that inhabit and spread as far as to the *Pyræneans*. He took likewise sundry Towns by force, which he effected in a short time, and even beyond his hopes; but these Successes cost him some hard Conflicts, wherein he lost many Men. In short, he establish'd *Hanno* Governour of the Country on this side the *Eber*, and order'd that he should have likewise the Government of the *Bargusians*, of which People he had the greatest Jealousie, as having been in Amity with the *Romans*; and appointed ten thousand Foot and one thousand Horse to be drawn out of the Army, to be left under his Command; committing likewise to his keeping the weighty Baggage of the whole Army that march'd with him; the like number he sent to their own Home, that by that means

means he might confirm the Affections of those to whom he gave that Licence, and afford hopes to the others, who adventured with him to return one day to their Native Country ; and that those, who were already in Arms, as such of the Natives who remain'd hitherto at ease in their Houses, might yield readier obedience to his Summons into *Italy*, if there should happen any occasion to call upon them to recruit his Forces. So the Army march'd light, and disincumber'd of Baggage to the number of Fifty thousand Foot, and Nine thousand Horse, which he lead over the *Pyrenæans*, in order to their passing the *Rhofne*. This was no very numerous Army, but they were good Men, and had been long train'd, and in continual Action during the Wars in *Spain*.

But forasmuch as our History will be in danger of obscurity, should we omit the necessary description of Places ; it seems therefore behoveful that we here describe, from the place of *Hannibal's* departure, the vast extent of ground he travers'd, and what Countries and Nations he visited in his march into *Italy*. For I hold it not enough barely to set down the names of Rivers and Cities, as is the method of some Writers, who imagine there is nothing more requir'd ; and that the knowledge of things is attain'd meerly by their Names : While, for my own part, I conceive it fit to observe, that as 'tis true,
that

that with respect to places and things we already know, the naming only may suffice to renew the Notices of them in the Memory; yet where we are totally in the dark, I reckon it equally as useless to insist barely on the Names, as to rehearse a certain number of Words that have no signification: For while the Mind is destitute of the means to conceive rightly of what is the Subject of our Contemplation, and is not inabled to apply what we hear to something that we know, we gather no more Fruit from such a Discourse, than if it were spoken to a deaf Ear. It will import us then to propose some certain method whereby we may be able to give right and easie Images of things, when we deliver Matter whereof the Understanding hath not yet taken the least Impression. The first and most general receiv'd Notion, and that which (as one may say) is common to Mankind, is the repartition that we have made of the Heavens, whereby we assign the seat and position of the respective Climates and Regions: For who, the most stupid, doth not know, *East* and *West*, *North* and *South*? The next Notion is, that by assigning to those repartitions in the Heavens certain divisions of such a position here on Earth, as are subjected to those above, whereby we arrive at a sort of Science of those Places and Countries, which we have never seen, and otherwise know nothing of. This Proposition

tion is only touching the Earth in general: What is next to be done, is to instruct the Reader to make the same division (as far as we know) of the Earth, which is understood to be distributed into the principal Parts; as namely, *Asia*, *Africk*, and *Europe*; then, that these three are bounded by the *Tanais*, the *Nile*, and the Streight of *Hercules*. *Asia* extends from the River *Nile*, Eastward and Southward. *Africk* stretcheth from the *Nile* towards *Hercules* Pillars, then extends Southward, and South-westward to the Equinoctial. In short, these two Parts, with respect to the whole Globe, contain that entire proportion of Continent to the Southward of *Mediterranean* Sea, stretching from *East* to *West*.

As to *Europe*, its situation is Northward, in opposite position to the other two, and is continu'd, as it were, in a Line from *East* to *West*. The principal and greatest part thereof hath Northerly Situation, lying between the River *Tanais*, and that of *Narbona*, which, on the Western part is not far from *Marseilles*, and the Mouth of the *Rhosne*, near which that River empties it self into the *Sardinian* Sea.

The *Celtæ* inhabit all the Country in the Neighbourhood of *Narbona*, and spread from thence to the *Pyrenæans*, which are a Chain of Mountains, continu'd from our Sea quite to the great Ocean: The other parts of *Europe*

rope running from those Hills to the utmost *West*, and to the Pillars of *Hercules*, are in a great measure bounded by our Sea, and that of the Ocean; that Portion thereof which borders on our Sea, to *Hercules-Pillars*, is called *Iberia*; but that which is wash'd by the main Ocean remains yet without a Name; it being not long since any discovery has been made thereof, and found to be inhabited by many barbarous Nations, whereof we shall have occasion to speak in particular, in the pursuit of our History.

In short, as it is not yet known whether *Æthiopia*, *Africk*, and *Asia* are join'd, and in one continu'd Continent, extending to the *South*, or be environ'd by the Sea; so likewise all that Tract of Land, contain'd between the *Tanais* and *Narbona*, towards the *North*, is to us at this day totally unknown. And those who speak or write otherwise, are to be held only as Reporters of Fables, amusing us with the Effects of their own Dreams and Visions.

Thus much I have thought needful to say, the better to qualifie those who are not over conversant in Geography, to study our History with greater Profit; and to the end they may arrive with more Facility at the knowledge of what they are yet to know, by conferring them with things whereof they are already inform'd; and as to what relates, at least, to the general distribution of the Parts, they

they may be taught to apprehend rightly of the Regions below from the position of the Climates above. For as it is ordinary with us to turn our Eyes towards the Object that is pointed to us to observe; so in proportion to the evidence, whereby things are set before the Understanding, by Words or Discourse, the Mind conceives and becomes enlightened.

But to return from our digression: The *Carthaginians* were, in those times, Masters of all that tract of Country in *Africk*, that runs along the Coast of our Sea, from the *Philænian* Altars, which are by the great *Syrtis*, to the Streight of *Hercules* Pillars; which Dominion contains above six hundred Leagues in length. They had now likewise carry'd their Conquests into *Spain*, being on the other side the Streight, which divides the two Continents, having subdu'd that Country intirely, as far as the Promontory or Rock in our Sea, which terminates the *Pyrenæan* Hills, that are the boundaries between the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*: This Acquisition extending at least three hundred Leagues in length, from *Hercules* Pillars to *New Carthage*, from whence *Hannibal* set out on his Expedition to *Italy*, is computed about one hundred and twenty Leagues. This Town we call, according to some, *New Carthage*; it being, by others, call'd *Cainopolis*, or the *New Town*. From thence, to the River

River *Eber*, it is at least one hundred Leagues; from the *Eber* to *Emporium*, about sixty Leagues; and thence to the Passage of the *Rhofne*, near the same distance: but these distances the *Romans* have set down in their Miles, each Mile containing eight Stades or Furlongs.

It is computed from the Passage of the *Rhofne*, up towards the head of the River, to the beginning of the *Alpes*, which lead into *Italy*, about seventy Leagues, without taking in the way in the Mountains, which is reckon'd fifty Leagues; from whence you descend into *Italy*, coming into a Campaigne Country, water'd by the River *Po*; so the March of *Hannibal* from *New Carthage* into *Italy*, will amount to about three hundred and forty Leagues. And now, if we take only the length of the way into our consideration, *Hannibal* had already perform'd half his Journey; but when the difficulties yet behind come to be weigh'd, the worst, by much, will be found yet remaining.

Hannibal therefore labour'd his utmost to get the *Pyrenæans* at his back, being not without suspicion of the fidelity of the *Gauls*, doubting lest they should block up his passage which he found difficult enough without encountring other Impediments. In the mean time, after the *Romans* were inform'd by their Ambassadors, whom they had sent to *Carthage*, of all that had pass'd, and had been

been determin'd there; and receiving notice earlier than they expected, of *Hannibal's* passing the *Eber*, they decreed that *Publius Cornelius Scipio* should be dispatch'd into *Spain*, and *Tiberius Sempronius* into *Africk*. But while they were busied about their *Levies*, and the necessary Preparations for the War, they left not, however, to prosecute another design they had before in hand; namely, to dispatch Colonies to the Country of the *Cis-Alpine Gauls*. They proceeded likewise, with great diligence to begirt their Towns with Walls, ordering those who were ordain'd for the Colonies, which amounted to about six thousand, who were to People the two Towns, that were to be built, to be at the Rendezvouse within the space of thirty days. One of which Towns they plac'd on this side the *Po*, and gave it the name of *Placentia*; the other beyond the River, which they call'd *Cremona*. These Colonies were hardly arriv'd; when the *Boians* (who endeavour'd nothing more ardently than to break with the *Romans*; but for want of a proper conjuncture, had not yet attempted any thing) hearing of the approach of the *Carthaginians*, began to conceive new hopes; and abandoning their Hostages, which had been given to the *Romans* at the end of the War (which was observ'd in our preceding Book) revolted, and took Arms against them. These drew likewise

wife to their side the *Insubrians*, who were easily lead to take part with them, out of an ancient hatred they bare to the *Romans*. So they march'd out, and fell to spoil the new planted Territories, and advancing after those, who had fled to *Modena* for Succour, pursu'd them thither, and there besieg'd them; where likewise were shut up the three Commissioners, who had been sent to conduct the Colonies, and set out the Lands, Men of great account; the one *Caius Lutatius*, who had been Consul, and the two others Prætors: These propos'd to come to some Treaty, which the *Boians* seem'd to accept; but when they adventur'd out to debate about the Terms, they brake their word, and seiz'd their Persons, perswading themselves that with such a gauge, they should be able to preserve their Hostages. Upon notice of these Stirs, *Lucius Manlius* the Prætor, who then commanded an Army in those Parts, march'd to their Relief with all the speed he could. But the Enemy getting notice of his approach, laid an Ambush in a certain Forest in his way, where the *Romans* had no sooner entred, when the *Boians* fell upon them, attacking them on all sides, and putting the greatest part to the Sword, the rest fled, and having gain'd the Hills, there made a stand, and with difficulty enough defended themselves, but at length made a good Retreat. Tho' the *Boians* left not the pursuit

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pursuit till they had chas'd them into a Town
 call'd *Tanetus*, which some call *Canetus*, where
 they block'd them up. When the news came
 to *Rome*, that the fourth Legion was thus
 besieg'd by the *Boians*, they order'd the *Ra-*
man Legion that had been appointed to *Pub-*
lius to march to their Relief, giving the Com-
 mand thereof to the Prætor *Lucius Atilius*,
 with orders to raise more Troops among their
 Allies. This is the account of what was
 transacted in *Gaul*, after the War broke out,
 to the arrival of *Hannibal*; the state of Mat-
 ters in that Province being such as was before
 related, and as we but now deliver'd.

Early in the Spring the *Roman* Consuls,
 having made due provision of all things ne-
 cessary to put their Purposes in execution,
 embark'd for their respective Governments,
Publius steering towards *Spain* with sixty Ves-
 sels, and *Tiberius Sempronius* with a Fleet of
 one hundred and sixty; whose Mind was so
 inflam'd with desire of Action, and exalted
 with the provision he had made at *Lilybaum*,
 that he thought on nothing more than lay-
 ing siege forthwith to *Carthage* it self. *Pub-*
lius kept along the Coast of *Liguria*, and in
 six Days arriv'd from *Pisa* at *Marseilles*; and
 coming to the hither mouth of the River
Rhofne, which they call the *Marseillian*, he
 began to land his Troops; and notwithstanding
 he had receiv'd notice of *Hannibal's* ha-
 ving pass'd the *Pyrenæans*, he concluded how-

ever that he could not be so near as he was; the difficulties of the Way, and the many divers Nations of the *Gauls*, by whom the Enemy was to make his Passage, made him of that Judgment. But *Hannibal* had surmounted all these Difficulties, having bought his passage of some, and won it by force of Arms from others, and was now got with his Army to the Pass over the *Rhofne*, having the Sea of *Sardinia* on his right. When *Publius* receiv'd the news of the Enemy's approach, he did not at first believe it, as seeming to him incredible, that he should be able to perform so difficult a march in so short a space: Nevertheless, he thought it advisable to endeavour after such intelligence as he might rely upon; accordingly, while his Army lay to refresh themselves, and recover from the Toils of their Voyage, consulting with his Officers what Posts would be most proper to possess, and what way to take that he might get before the Enemy, he commanded out three hundred choice Horse to discover; to whom, for their Guides, and farther to sustain them, he appointed the *Gauls* to be join'd, who were in pay to those of *Marseilles*.

Hannibal being now on the Banks of the *Rhofne*, within four Days march of the Sea, at a certain place where the Channel of that River was not very large, determin'd speedily to pass his Army, after he had bought the Good-will of the People of the Country, and pur-

purchas'd all their Canoes and Boats, whereof there were great numbers ; forasmuch as those who live on that River Traffick on the Sea. Furthermore he amass'd great quantities of Materials proper for the making of Floats, whereof the Soldiers in the space of two Days had made abundant provision, every one labouring his utmost to excuse the necessity of other Aid, being resolv'd to owe their passage over the River to their own single Industry. In the mean time, the Barbarians, on the opposite side, assembled in great numbers to oppose their Landing ; which *Hannibal* no sooner perceiv'd, but he concluded it impossible to compass his Intent by force, having so numerous an Enemy to oppose him ; and that he could no longer remain where he was, without danger of being encompass'd by the Enemy, unless he speedily attempted something. Whereupon, after three Days debate, about the first Watch of the Night, he detach'd a Party of his Army (with the *Gauls* of the Country for their Guides) under the leading of *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar*. After these had march'd about five and twenty Miles up the River, they came to a place where the Water makes a small Island, and there halted. In this place they fell'd great quantities of Timber in the neighbouring Woods, and in a short time made a sufficient number of Floats to waft them ; and so got a safe passage over the *Rhofne*, none ap-

pearing to oppose them: And having gain'd a piece of Ground, whose situation fortify'd it self, they there repos'd that Day, not only to refresh themselves after so toilsome an Expedition, but likewise to prepare for the farther prosecution of what had been given them in Orders. In the mean while, *Hannibal* essay'd by all means possible to pass over the River with that part of the Army that remain'd with him; and nothing now so much troubled him, as how to imbarck his Elephants, which were to the number of forty eight.

The fifth Night, after the Detachment had pass'd the River, they drew near the Barbarians, who were assembled to oppose *Hannibal's* Landing; who, at the same time having his Troops in readiness, order'd his Horse to imbarck in the great Vessels, and the best of his Foot in small Boats prepar'd to pass over. But to the end his Floats and small Boats might go with more security, he order'd the greater Vessels to keep above the Stream, thereby to check the Current of the River. Another invention they had likewise to transport their Horses; they did not imbarck them, but swam in a Tow after their small Boats, one Man holding three or four by the Bridle on each side the Boat: Thus many were carry'd over at the first essay.

The

The Barbarians beholding all this Preparation ran in haste and disorder out of their Camp, conceiving they should have no great difficulty to repulse the *Carthaginians*: But as soon as *Hannibal* perceiv'd the Party on the other side to approach, (for according to the Orders *Hanno* had receiv'd, they made the signs of their drawing near by Smoak in several places as they march'd) he order'd his People to move, the great Vessels to keep above, with Directions to those that govern'd them to stem the Current, keeping the Vessels with their bow upon the Stream, the better to cover the others from danger. So each one animating his Companion with auspicious Words, labour'd with incredible Industry to stem the violence of the Current. In the mean time, the Enemy, on the other side, gave them to understand by their Cries, not unlike to Howlings, that they expected them with resolution, insomuch that the prospect every where was terrible, and held the Spectators in great perplexity.

The Enemy having now wholly abandon'd their Tents, those with *Hanno* fell in pell-mell among them unperceiv'd: Some attack and set fire on their Camp, while the greatest part march to charge those that guarded the Passage. The *Barbarians* thus surpriz'd, some hasten'd to preserve their Tents, others remain'd to make head and sustain the Battle. *Hannibal* now perceiving the Success to an-

swer his Design, rang'd and drew his People up in Battalia as they Landed, and encouraging them in few words, they soon came to Blows with the Enemy ; who fighting in disorder, by reason of the surprize, were soon vanquish'd and dispers'd.

The *Carthaginians* having thus at once gain'd the Victory and their Passage, us'd all possible dispatch in the transporting what was yet remaining on the other side the River ; and when that Work was over, they encamp'd that Night on the Bank. The next Morning, having receiv'd Intelligence that the *Roman* Army, with their Fleet, was arriv'd at the mouth of the *Rhesne*, *Hannibal* detach'd five hundred *Numidian* Horse, with order to discover and bring an account of the Enemy. And directed those who best understood that Affair, to take care for the transporting the Elephants, while he assembled the Army, where he produc'd *Magilus*, who was come to visit him from the Countries that lie about the *Po*, accompanied with other Princes of the *Gauls*, making known to them, by an Interpreter, the Resolution that People had taken ; but what most animated the Soldiers, was the Presents which those Princes had brought with them, the tender of their Service, and offers to ingage with them, as their Companions, in the War against the *Romans*.

In short, after *Magilus* had assur'd them he would be their Conductor through all those Passages by which they were to march, and that they should shortly arrive in safety in *Italy*, and want for nothing in their Journey, they thought it reasonable to yield entire belief to what he said; they were likewise greatly encourag'd by what they heard of the abundance and fertility of the Country they were to invade, and with the chearful and frank Behaviour of those who were to joyn with them in their Conflicts with the *Romans*. The *Gauls* being now retir'd out of the Assembly, *Hannibal* return'd, where he represented to his People, first, the important Actions they had already atchiev'd; how many notable Services by his Counsel and Leading they had already perform'd; how many hazardous Adventures they had gone through, whereof not any Man there had cause to repent: Then he exhorted them to continue firm in their Resolutions, inasmuch as they were of themselves convinc'd, that the most difficult part of the Work was now pass'd, their Passage over the River succeeding to their own Wishes; nor could there be any remaining doubt of the Fidelity and Goodwill of their Allies; he requir'd, in short, that they would entertain no anxious Thoughts about the future; but rely firmly on his Care and Circumspection; telling them, that by an entire resignation to his Conduct and Com-

mands, they would give the best and surest Marks of their Resolution, and ascertain their Title to the Glory they had already won. And now, after the Soldiers, by their Words and Actions had unanimously signify'd their approbation and readiness to obey him, and their willingness to engage in all Dangers. *Hannibal* praising their forwardness, and imploring the assistance of the Gods for their Preservation, commanded them to retire to their repose, and to be in a readiness to march, for that he determin'd to decamp the next Day; so they departed.

The Assembly was no sooner dismiss'd when the *Numidians* return'd, who had been sent abroad to discover; of whom a great part were cut off, and those who escap'd had sav'd themselves by flight. For having incountr'd it seems, not far from the Camp, with certain Horse-men of the *Romans*, whom *Publius* had sent abroad on the same Errand, they had engag'd so roughly, that on the part of the *Romans* and *Gauls*, an hundred and fifty were kill'd on the spot, and of the *Numidians* above two hundred, the *Romans* pursuing the rest to their Camp; by which means they got knowledge of what had pass'd with the *Carthaginians*, and so retir'd to their own Army with all the expedition they were able, to assure the Consul of the Enemies arrival. Whereupon the *Romans* decamp'd, imbarking all their Baggage on board the Fleet, and eagerly

gerly wishing to come to action with the Enemy, they took their march up the River.

The Day after *Hannibal* had made his Oration to the Army, he order'd all the Horse to move and march toward the Sea-Coast, to intercept any sudden Danger that might threaten from that Quarter; then he commanded the Foot to follow, while himself attended the coming of the Elephants, and those whom he had left to conduct them. And here it will not be amiss that we give an account how they imbark'd those mighty Beasts. They made many Floats of Timber, whereof they joyn'd two and two together; these Floats were fifty Foot long each, and were plac'd pointing out into the River, their inmost ends resting on the Bank, and all well united together; then they fasten'd others to the ends of those, reaching yet farther out into the River; these Machines so fram'd (resembling in some sort a Bridge) were well sustain'd and fasten'd with Cordage on all parts, and defended from the violence of the Stream. They moor'd or fasten'd this Platform to the Trees which grew on the Bank, whereof there were good store; after having enlarg'd and run out this Work to about two hundred Foot in length, they joyn'd to the end thereof two other large substantial Floats well fasten'd together, which they so joyn'd to the fix'd Platform with Ropes, as to be able easily to disjoyn them from the other; to these
move-

moveable Floats they fasten'd Ropes whereby to tow and draw them, with Boats appointed for that purpose, to the other side the River, and to hold them up against the Current, that it might not drive down the Stream when the Machine should be loosen'd from the fix'd Stage; then they cover'd the surface of it with Earth, to make it appear firm Ground, like that on the Bank, for the Elephants were taught an exact Obedience to their Governors, and were so in all things, passing over the Water only excepted, whereof they stood in great fear: Wherefore, the better to prevail on the rest, they led two gentle Female Elephants foremost, the others following. They being brought to the outermost moveable Floats, they then unty'd the Ropes by which they were fasten'd, and tow'd the said Float with the Cargo of Elephants to the other side. The Beasts were terrify'd at first, and ran from one side to the other of the Float, but beholding nothing but Water on all sides, their fear then kept them in order. Thus by several Voyages they waded over all their Elephants, some few excepted, which leap'd through fear into the Water, when they were in the middle of the Stream; but these were likewise preserv'd, tho' their Guides perish'd, for by the help of their great Trunks, which they held above Water, they thereby discharg'd their Stomachs of the Water, they had taken in, and breath'd with free-

freedom. By this Artifice they transported their Elephants to the other side the River.

And now *Hannibal* posting his Horse and his Elephants in the Rear of the Army, continu'd his march down the Stream towards the East. The source or head of the *Rhosne* is situate far up in the Country, above the Gulf of the *Adriatick*-Sea towards the West; in those parts of the *Alpes* which regard the North, tending in its passage towards the Southwest, and discharging it self into the *Sardinian*-Sea. In short, this River for the most part makes its passage through a Champaign Country, environ'd on both sides with Mountains, whose North-side is inhabited by the *Gauls-Ardienfes*, the other is bounded by the North-side of the *Alpes*. That part of the *Alpes* which runs from *Marseilles* to the bottom of the *Adriatick*, separates the plain Country in the neighbourhood of the *Po*, whereof we have already spoken, from the Plain where the *Rhosne* hath its passage. *Hannibal* then took his march through that Country where the River hath its source, to come into *Italy*.

Some Authors, who have writ of *Hannibal's* passage over the *Alpes*, entertain us with astonishing and incredible Tales of that Voyage, without heeding that they have thereby committed two Errors, which History of all things

things will not permit, for they are constrain'd thereby to coin Fallshoods of their own, and often become liable to contradict themselves. For as they give to *Hannibal* all the Encomiums of a great and valiant Leader; so at the same time they make him act with the greatest Imprudence imaginable. Then when they are taken in their own fabulous Snares, they are forc'd to bring down the Gods and Demi-Gods to their Aid, who should not be nam'd but in matters of Truth. Furthermore, they feign that the *Alpes* are so desart and inaccessible, that far from being passable by Armies, Horses, and Elephants, Men cannot, without unspeakable travel, pass them on foot. They tell us farther, that some parts thereof are so waste and destitute of all Succour, that without the Aid of some Divinity, who led *Hannibal*, as it were by the Hand, through those wild Labyrinths he and his Army had inevitably perish'd; these, I say, are two Faults in an Historian, which Men of common Sence easily discover and dislike.


For, in short, were there Truth in what they deliver, where could there be found in Story a more imprudent General, or Leader worse qualify'd than *Hannibal*, who being at the head of so numerous an Army, in the prosperity of which all his Hopes were plac'd, neither knowing any thing of the Country through which he was to march, nor the course he was to take, nor whither he went,
nor

nor with whom he was to have to do ; and what fills the measure of Folly, had engag'd in an Enterprize, which, by the common Rules of Reason, yielded no prospect of Success ; but on the contrary, to all appearance, pursu'd an Attempt totally unfeasible ? For these Authors make *Hannibal* in the spring of his Hopes at the head of a flourishing victorious Army, perform such things as are not likely would be acted by a People already vanquish'd and undone, and reduc'd to the last extremity ; namely, to engage their Troops in Countries and Places totally unknown. For while they tell us all was waste and desert, and the Country no where passable, do they not plainly accuse their own Forgeries ? But they knew not that the *Gauls*, who inhabit about the *Rhofne*, had often pass'd the *Alpes* with numerous Armies, long before *Hannibal's* time ; and not only heretofore, but of late days, they had march'd to the relief of those *Gauls* who dwell about the *Po*, during their Wars with the *Romans*. Furthermore, they were to learn that even the *Alpes* themselves are inhabited by numerous Nations ; but it was their Ignorance indeed that brought the Demi-God down to show *Hannibal* his way. Wherein they follow the Poets, who in their Tragedies, having for the most part nothing but Fiction and extravagant Adventures for the subject of their Plays, are able to bring nothing handsomely to pass without

out a God or a Machine. After this manner our Historians have proceeded, being forc'd to implore some Divinity or other to yield them assistance, and disintangle them from the Falshoods and Improbabilities they themselves have made. For how can a fabulous beginning have other than a fabulous Issue? Most certain it is that *Hannibal* did not conduct his Affairs at the rate these Authors would persuade, but like a wise and able Captain. And there is no doubt, but he well knew that the Country into which he was leading his Army, was fertile and abounding in all things, and the Inhabitants alien'd in their Inclinations to the *Romans*; that he had with him for Guides the very People of the Country, who had engag'd to partake with him in all his Fortunes. For my own particular, I speak of these things with so much the more assurance, by how much I have not only been instructed therein by those who liv'd in those Days; but that I might be less liable to Error, I made my self a Journey into the *Alpes* for my better Information.

To proceed, *Publius* the *Roman* General arriv'd with his Army at the Passage of the *Rhosne*, three days after *Hannibal's* departure, who perceiving the Enemy gone, was much surpriz'd, and without doubt with good reason, for he could scarce be perswaded, that the *Carthaginian* would ever have been drawn to attempt that way into *Italy*; especially having

having to deal with so many barbarous Nations in his March, uncapable of Friendship or keeping their Faith. But after he had a while reflected on the boldness of the undertaking, he march'd back to the Fleet; where embarking his Army with all expedition, and dispatching his Brother to carry on the War in *Spain*, he resolv'd himself to return by Sea into *Italy*, to make head against the Enemy.

In the mean space, after four days march *Hannibal* arrives at a place call'd the *Isle*, where the Country is rich and well Peopled. It is so call'd, because the *Soane* environs it on one side, and the *Rhosne* on the other, giving it the figure of a Triangle. This Island, both for form and magnitude, much resembles another in *Egypt*, which is call'd *Delta*; and if there be any difference in the comparison, it is that *Delta* is  the one side encompassed by the Sea, and the Rivers that there discharge themselves, and the other with rough and almost inaccessible Mountains. Here *Hannibal* found two Princes, that were Brethren, in Arms against each other, for the Dominion of the Country, their Armies being drawn up ready to engage. The elder of these two made his addresses to *Hannibal*, praying his aid to re-establish him in his Inheritance, to which he lent a willing ear, foreseeing the Profit he might reap thereby; wherefore, after he had entred into Friend-

Friendship with him, and compell'd the other to retire, he receiv'd many singular benefits of the said Prince, who did not only supply his Army with refreshments, and whatever they stood in need of; but exchanging *Hannibal's* old worn-out Arms for new ones, which he deliver'd him; he did in some sort recruit his Army. He further supply'd them with what Cloaths they wanted, and greatly assisted them in their Passage over the Mountains. But the most remarkable service he did them, was, that forasmuch as they were in some jealousy in passing the Frontiers of the *Gauls*, call'd *Allobroges*, he conducted *Hannibal* by another way more safe, and brought him to the place where they begin to ascend the *Alpes*.

Hannibal having march'd near an hundred Miles in ten days along the River *Rhosne*, met with mighty difficulties after his Army had enter'd on the Mountains; and in truth the *Allobroges* had no purpose to attack them, while they held their March in the Plains, fearing both their Horse, and the *Gauls* that accompany'd the Army. But these were no sooner gone, and that *Hannibal* began to ascend the Mountains, when they drew together in great numbers, and possess'd themselves of the Posts where *Hannibal* must unavoidably March; and most assuredly, had they but kept themselves longer conceal'd, the *Carthaginian* Army had run a mighty hazard;
but

but being discover'd by *Hannibal*, tho' they did him some Mischief, they were requited with equal loss. For *Hannibal* was no sooner inform'd, that the *Barbarians* were Masters of the Passes, when he made his Army halt, and take their Quarters that Night among the Rocks and Fastnesses. In the mean while he dispatch'd a Party of *Gauls*, who serv'd him for Guides, to discover the Posture of the Enemy, and learn what they could of their purpose. And having understood that they kept Guard in those places only by Day, but that in the Night they retir'd to a Town not far off; he found this Expedient to obviate the present Inconvenience: He decamp'd in broad Day, and by slow Motions advanc'd with his Army; till arriving not far from the Streights, he then encamp'd not far from the Enemy; and causing Fires to be made in the Camp about the first Watch of the Night, where he left the greatest part of his Troops, himself, in the mean while, with a Detachment of his best Men, pass'd the Streights in the Night; and while the Enemy was retir'd to the Town, according to their Custom, took possession of those Posts, where they were wont before to keep their Guard.

When Day discover'd to the Enemy what had pass'd, they did not presently determine what to do; but when they observ'd the great quantity of Baggage that appear'd, and perceiv'd that the Horse could afford them no

succour, which by reason of the narrow, stony, and broken ways, could not march but in files, they then resolv'd on the Attack. And now as the *Barbarians* thus fell on them from all Quarters at once, the Way it self being almost as terrible as the Enemy, the *Carthaginians* receiv'd great loss, especially in their Horses and Beasts of Carriage; for the Way being streight, stony, and broken, the Beasts of Burden were easily thrown down, and disorder'd, falling into Precipices. But the Horses that were wounded gave them the greatest trouble; for falling by their Wounds among the other Beasts, and labouring to rise and recover their Feet in so narrow a Way, so crowded, they cast down others by their striving to save themselves; which was the occasion of great Labour and Tumult. This being observ'd and consider'd by *Hannibal*, who well knew the Army could not subsist without their Beasts of Burthen, which carry'd their Necessaries, he immediately left the Posts he had taken, and came to the relief of those who were thus hard press'd in their passage; when falling on the Enemy from higher Ground, he did not fail of doing them great Damage: But the evil was, that his own People were thereby equal Sufferers; for the fear encreasing every-where by this new Tumult, many miscarry'd and were lost in the Crowd; but, in the end, most of the *Allobroges* were slain on the place, and the rest sav'd

fav'd themselves by Flight. And now their Horses and other Beasts, after some time of rest, were led with great trouble and difficulty through the Streight; but *Hannibal*, after he had escap'd this Danger, march'd himself with a good Detachment against the Town, that had harbour'd the Enemy, which he took without resistance, finding it almost quite deserted, the Inhabitants being all gone out in hopes of Booty. This adventure prov'd very useful to his Affairs, both with respect to the present and the future: For he here recover'd many, both Men and Horses, and other Beasts, which had fallen into the Enemy's hands, and Cattel and Corn sufficient to sustain the Army for three Days. But, above all, the Terror he had given by this success to the circumjacent places was such, that none of the *Gauls* inhabiting the Towns near which he was to pass, gave him the least molestation in his Passage. In this Town *Hannibal* took up his Quarters, where he remain'd a Day to rest and refresh his Army, and then prosecuted his Journey. For three Days together he march'd without Trouble or Alarm, but the fourth he fell into much danger. The People inhabiting in the Towns on the way he was to pass, having secretly conspir'd against him, met him however, with Olive-branches, and Garlands of Flowers, Signs among the *Barbarians* of Peace and Friendship, as the *Caduceus* is among the *Greeks*.

Hannibal, who had now learn'd how far he was to trust these People, endeavour'd by Questions to inform himself of their Purposes. They told him, That they had receiv'd notice of his Success against the Town, and of the loss and defeat of those who had attack'd him in his march; but as to themselves, they came to give him assurance, That they were resolv'd to do him no Injury, nor suffer any to be done to him by others: And that they were ready to give him Hostages for their Fidelity. * *Hannibal* remain'd long undetermin'd what to do, having no great Opinion of their Sincerity; but, in the end, weighing that to make a show of believing them, might work on their Good-nature, and by degrees win them to his Friendship, if he seem'd to accept their Tenders; and that in case of refusal, they might presently become his Enemies, he feign'd to consent to their Proposal, and seem'd, as they did, dispos'd to enter into terms of Friendship with them. In short, after these *Barbarians* had given him security for their peaceable Behaviour, supply'd his Army with Provisions, and that they convers'd among the *Carthaginians* with all manner of freedom and confidence, *Hannibal* began to have a better Opinion of their Sincerity, and accepted their Service for his Guides through the many remaining difficult Ways by which they were to pass. Howbeit, after they had thus conducted the Army for two Days

Days together, they assembled at length all into one Body, and attack'd the Rear at a Defile, or streight Passage, as they were marching in a Valley full of Rocks and broken Ground.

Great likelihood there was that the *Carthaginian* Army had here run the hazard of being entirely destroy'd, had not their General, who reserv'd a secret doubt of the well-meaning of this People, obviated the mischief of this treasonable Purpose of theirs, by ordering his Horse and Baggage to march in the Van of the Army, and his choicest Foot to sustain the Rear. But having dispos'd matters after this manner, his loss became less grievous; for his Foot in the Arrear-guard prov'd sufficient to put a stop to the violence of the Attempt. Nevertheless, they were not without great loss both of Men and Horses; and the Enemy, who was possess'd of the Ground above them, brought such terror into the Army, by rowling down mighty Stones and Rocks from the Precipices upon them, and showing Volleys of Stones on their Heads, that *Hannibal* was compell'd to take up his Quarters for that Night on the top of an Eminence, expos'd to the open Sky, with that part of the Army that was with him, remote from the Horse and the rest of the Troops, and the Baggage, the better to cover and defend them from danger; who were hardly able, in all that Night, with great labour, to

compass their passage through the Valley. In the Morning, the Enemy being now retir'd, *Hannibal* join'd his Army and Baggage, and advanc'd towards the top of the *Alpes*. After this the *Gauls* attempted no more to attack them in Bodies, but in smaller Parties, and with less ardour than before; nevertheless falling sometimes on the Van, sometimes on the Rear of the Army, they seldom fail'd of making some spoil of the Baggage. The *Elephants* happen'd to be of great use to the *Carthaginians* in these Conflicts; for where-soever they chanc'd to appear, they so terrify'd the Enemy, that the Army march'd by that means with much less molestation. In nine Days after this, *Hannibal* gain'd the top of the Mountains, where he halted two Days, being willing to give some repose to such of his Army as were come thus far without Wound or Sicknes, and to attend the coming of the rest of his Troops that were yet behind. During this stay, many Horses and Beasts of Carriage, which had fallen and stray'd out of the way, came in of their own accord, following the Track of the Army to the great wonder of the Beholders.

But whereas the Snows were yet great in the Mountains, (Winter not being there quite over) *Hannibal* perceiving his Soldiers to be somewhat discourag'd by reason of the Sufferings they had already felt, and out of apprehension of what yet threaten'd them, caus'd
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the Army to be assembled, to the end he might speak to them, and inspire them with new Resolution; which he could no way better effect, than by giving them a view and prospect of *Italy*; which, in a word, lies so fairly to the Eye, spreading and extending it self at the foot of those Mountains, that Nature seems to have design'd them as a Rampart to cover and defend it. So he gave them a survey of the Champaign Country that spreads it self all about the River *Po*; and gave them to understand how welcome they should be to the People that Inhabited it. He pointed out likewise to them whereabout the City of *Rome* stood; and by this Artifice animated his harass'd Army. The Day following he decamp'd, and began to descend the Mountains; and now saw no more of the Enemy to molest them in their march, saving some small scatter'd Parties, who rather awaited occasions how to steal than to fight. Howbeit, *Hannibal's* Losses were not lessen'd, by reason of the great Snows and the exceeding bad march they had had, which much weaken'd the Army. Nor was their passage much better in the descent; for what with the streight, steep, and slippery ways, and the depth of the Snow, the Soldier knew not where to set his Foot with safety; for when-ever they slipp'd, they were in danger of being lost, and swallow'd up in the depths and precipices which lay hid and cover'd by

the Snow. Nevertheless, the long practice in those Hardships and Dangers, taught them to suffer all with Constancy: But at length coming to a place where neither their Elephants nor Horses could pass, the Way, which was very steep before, being now, by the falling away of some of the Earth, become more difficult, renew'd their Fears; which was manifest over the whole Army. Upon this accident, *Hannibal* took a resolution to attempt another way, by taking a compass about those Mountains, tho' there was no appearance of any passage; but forasmuch as the great Snows render'd that Resolution too hazardous, all places being cover'd and hid from the view, he therefore chang'd his purpose.

In the interim, there having fallen much new Snow on that which remain'd of the Winter before; this last being loose and not yet deep, yielded firm footing enough to the Soldiers; but this was no sooner trampled on, but it dissolv'd into Dirt and Mire; whereby the Snow of last Year being frozen under it, it became impossible to march thereon any more than on Ice it self, none being able to keep their Feet; and when they endeavour'd to sustain themselves on their Hands and Knees, they often slid and were lost in Pits and Precipices. When their Horses at any time slip'd, they by their weight and labouring broke the Ice under them, and so be-

became buried and frozen to Death. Whereupon *Hannibal* now desperate of obtaining his passage that way, encamp'd his Army at the entrance of this Pass, after he had first order'd the Snow to be remov'd which cover'd all the Ground; and then by the labour of his Soldiers he wrought into the Hill it self, and by unspeakable Pains made his Passage at length through it: So in one Day he made way for his Horses and other Beasts to pass, which immediately march'd on. And now decamping the Army, he sent his Horse and other Beasts to forrage and recruit themselves, as they could come at Pasture, where the Ground was not cover'd with Snow. In the mean time he order'd the *Numidians* to make a passage for the Elephants, which cost them three Days labour with great difficulty to effect; but at length they made way for those Animals, which had suffer'd much, and were almost dead with Hunger. For there was neither Forage nor Tree to be found on that part of the *Alpes*, nor in the neighbourhood; the Ground lying ever cover'd with Snow Winter and Summer, but the lower Grounds on all sides produce Woods and Cover, and there is no place thereabout that is not habitable.

After *Hannibal* had united his Troops, he prosecuted his march, and in the space of three Days got past these difficult and incommodious Places, whereof we have given an

account, and recover'd the Plains, howbeit with the loss of great numbers of his People; for many fell by the Enemy, many were drown'd in passing the Rivers, and many of Sickness, and the Hardships of their march to and over the *Alpes*. And as he lost many Men, so his loss of Horses and other Beasts of Burthen, was yet much greater. In a word, after a march of five Months, from his departure from *New-Carthage*, and fifteen Days passage over the *Alpes*, he boldly advanc'd into the Champaign Country, lying about the River *Po*, and the Frontiers of the *Insubrians*. Of the Troops that march'd out with him, there now remain'd, of *Africans* about twelve Thousand; eight Thousand *Spaniards*, and six Thousand Horses, according to his own Register, left by him, engrav'd on the Column at *Lacinium*, which specify'd that number. About this time *Publius Cornelius*, who had left his Troops with *Cneius* his Brother, to prosecute the War against *Asdrubal* in *Spain*. embark'd for *Pisa*, and from thence passing through *Tuscany*, joyn'd the Armies of the Prætors, who were in service in that Country against the *Boians*; with these he took his march towards the *Po*, where he encamp'd with design to come speedily to a Battel with *Hannibal*. And now that we are arriv'd in *Italy*, and have translated the War, Armies and Leaders on both sides thither; it seems necessary that we preface something to the
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Reader, as the order of our History requires, before we enter on the account of the Battels and Transactions that occur'd in that Province. For some may possibly be apt to remark and inquire, why, having spoken so copiously of *Spain*, we should have yet said nothing touching other Points of *Geography*; namely, of the *Streight* that parts the two Continents of *Europe* and *Africk*, nor of the great neighbouring Sea and its qualities, nor of the Islands of *Britany*, nor of their Lead-Mines, their Gold and Silver in *Spain*, whereof Historians have said so much that they contradict one another? But we have not spoken of these matters, not only because it serves to little purpose in the use of History; but first, because such digressions at every turn are apt to perplex the course of our Work, and to divert the Reader's attention from the genuine purpose and thread of our Story. Furthermore, our purpose being not to discourse superficially, and by the bye, of things, but to take them up when they fairly and regularly present themselves, and then seasonably and duly to deliver the Truth copiously and plainly as far as we shall be able. Let it not appear strange then, that neither in this place, nor heretofore, we have forbore to touch on many Points as we have said. For if any one fancies it to be the Duty of an Historian to be taken with every hint that falls in his way, and to touch promiscuously

miscuously on all Subjects on the least motive; let such take care lest they be justly compar'd to the Glutton at a Feast, who, while his Appetite tempts him to taste of every Dish, he receives neither present Pleasure nor future Profit; on the contrary, he contracts only ill Digestion and worse Nourishment. People of that Humour, I say, in the study of History, have neither present Diversion in the Reading, nor Fruit in the Application for the time to come.

There are many Vices in History, whereof we shall mention some that ought carefully to be reform'd, whereof this we have now nam'd is among the greatest. Do not all, or most part of Historians, affect to entertain their Readers with Descriptions of the remotest parts of the known World, setting down the situation of Places and Countries, and describing their Nature and the like? Where it is odds, but the greatest part of them are deceiv'd in many particulars they deliver, it will be but just therefore to show them their Faults, and endeavour solidly, not superficially, to refute them, not taking up the Argument, as it were, by chance. The course we shall take to correct these Errors, shall not be to blame and inveigh against the Authors, but rather in a manner of compassion to show candidly wherein they have fail'd through Ignorance. For most certain it is, that had they arriv'd at our times, they themselves
would

would have seen things by a better Light, and reform'd much of their own Failures. For there were few *Greeks* to be found heretofore, who had over-diligently visited remote Nations, not having the means to gratifie their desires therein; it not being to be compass'd in those days, without running extreme dangers both by Sea and Land. Furthermore, if any one by chance, at any time, happen'd of necessity to visit distant Countries, even the remotest Provinces of the known World, what would the Remarks of a single Traveller amount to? Since it could not be possible those Places should be known as they ought, for the greatest part of those People are Barbarous, and Savage, and many parts Desert, and Inhospitable. In short, another difficulty would spring through the diversity of strange Languages, whereby it would hardly be possible to be rightly inform'd. in any thing they saw. And albeit People should happen to see and learn the situation of those Regions, there would be few found whose Candor might be trusted, and Men wou'd doubt that much of what they deliver is fabulous, and of their own coining. So hard it is in such cases not to mingle with Truth, the Tales of their own Invention.

Since it seems then impossible, that our Fore-Fathers could be thorowly instructed in all the Subjects of History, Authors therefore who have been silent in matters, which it may

may be conceiv'd they ought to have better open'd ; and even those, who have said more than we find they ought, are however without much blame, tho' they do not deserve our praise, since they were not without some tincture of Knowledge, and farther'd in some degree the Curiosity of others. But now, in our days, that *Asia* by the Victories of *Alexander* hath been travell'd and discover'd, and the Armies of the *Romans* have open'd a passage both by Sea and Land, whereby to arrive at the certain knowledge of the rest of the World ; our Informations come with more certainty of those things, which heretofore we could not speak of with assurance. Especially in this Age, when many who have been employ'd in the administration of Publick Affairs, are now releas'd from the cares of both Military and Civil Applications, and have leisure and means to apply their studies in other curious Speculations. I shall strive to do my part at least, when occasion shall seasonably serve, to bring things to a better light ; and mingle in these my Labours such proper Matter as may, to those who delight in this Subject, minister to their better Information. And since I have been at the cost of so much time and peril in my Travels into *Gaul*, *Africk*, *Spain*, and on the Ocean that borders on these Countries, spent in the acquisition of Knowledge, I hold it not a vain design to detect and reform the Mistakes of

ancient Authors, by enlarging my Accounts and Descriptions of these Parts of the World. But it is now time we return to prosecute our Story, and prepare to relate the Battels and Transactions of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Italy*.

We have already set down the number of *Hannibal's* Troops, when he made his entry into *Italy*. Who at the end of his march, first encamp'd at the foot of the Mountains, to recruit and refresh his Army, which was not only greatly harrafs'd in their passage over the *Alpes*, but much spent through the great scarcity of Provisions in their way, and the Diseases they contracted thereby; many in despair neglected their own Preservation, through the continual Hardships and Calamities to which they were expos'd: For it was an insuperable difficulty to find Victuals that might suffice for so numerous an Army, where many, who were commanded out to provide and bring what they wanted, miscarry'd, both Men and Beasts, in their Journey. So that *Hannibal*, who pass'd the *Rhosne* at the head of eight and thirty Thousand Foot, and above eight Thousand Horse, muster'd not half that number at his arrival in *Italy*, as hath been already noted. And those who remain'd so chang'd from what they were, that both in Cloths and Countenance they appear'd more like Savages than Soldiers. Wherefore his first and chief care was, to restore Health
and

and Strength to their Bodies, and Vigour to their Minds, and to recruit and strengthen his Horse. When his Army was refresh'd, his next business was to endeavour an Alliance with the *Taurinians*, who inhabit at the foot of the *Alpes*; and who at that time had War with the *Insubrians*; but they would not be drawn to trust the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore, after having long solicited them to Friendship in vain, he sat down before their Capital Town, which in three Days he took, and all that made resistance he put to the Sword; which struck the neighbouring *Barbarians* with such terror, that they came all afterwards in to him as one Man, giving themselves up to his discretion. These indeed were constrain'd; but the other *Gauls*, who possess'd the Country about the *Po*, cheerfully took part with *Hannibal*, as was lately observ'd. But in regard now that the *Roman Army* was advanc'd so near, they adventur'd not presently to show their Goodwill; but some of them were constrain'd to take part with them. Whereupon *Hannibal* thought it the wisest way not to desert longer, but to take his March into their Country; to the end, that by some notable Action he might establish the Courage, and renew the Hopes of those who were dispos'd to engage with him.

During these Motions, he receives Intelligence, That the Consul had pass'd the Po with all the Legions, and was not now far off. But this News he did not presently believe, inasmuch as he knew he had left *Scipio* about the *Rhofne*, and that the Passage by Sea from *Marseilles* to *Tuscany* was tedious and difficult. Furthermore, he was inform'd, that the March from *Tuscany* to the *Alpes* was not only long, but hardly to be surmounted by an Army. But, in the end, fresh Advices coming daily to him of the truth thereof, he became greatly surpriz'd at the Diligence of the *Roman* General, who was no less astonish'd at the Expedition of the *Carthaginian*: For he was of Opinion, That *Hannibal* would not have attempted to adventure over the *Alpes*, at the head of an Army compos'd of so many divers Nations; or that if he was so hardy, he must have miserably perish'd by the way. But when he became assur'd, that they were got over those Difficulties, and were now in *Italy*; and farther, that they had already besieg'd and taken Towns; he admir'd the intrepid Boldness of their Leader, whose Attempt had exceeded the Power of Imagination it self. This News was likewise heard at *Rome* with terror enough; where, after they had been inform'd of the taking of *Saguntum* by the *Carthaginians*; and while they were, as it were, deliberating to send one of their Consuls into *Africk* to

attack *Carthage*, and the other into *Spain* to make War on *Hannibal*, they receiv'd notice that *Hannibal* himself was in *Italy* besieging of Towns. This was so surprizing to the *Romans*, that the dread thereof made them send an exprefs to *Tiberius* now at *Lilybæum*, to acquaint him with the arrival of the Enemy, and to enjoin him to postpone all other Affairs whatsoever, and repair with all the expedition he could to the rescue of his Country. Whereupon *Tiberius* assembles his Maritime Forces, and embarks forthwith for *Rome*, leaving his Orders with the respective Tribunes, to draw together what Troops they could out of their several Garrisons, and set them a Day to rendezvous at *Rimini*, a Town standing on the Coast of the *Adriatick*, on the edge of the Plains that are water'd by the River *Po* towards the South. So that great trouble and tumult was spread all over the Country; which being alarm'd on all Quarters with evil Tidings, the *Romans* were in great suspence about the issue of the War.

And now *Hannibal* and *Scipio* drew near each other; and mutually animating their Soldiers, spake to them in such terms as the time and the occasion requir'd. *Hannibal* incited his Troops after this, or the like manner: He caus'd to be brought to the head of the Army, which he had assembled for that purpose, certain young Men who were Prisoners,

soners, of the number of those that had been taken vexing and plundering the Army in their march over the *Alpes*, whom he had therefore kept in very hard durance. In short, they appear'd loaden with Irons, starv'd almost to death, bearing on their naked Bodies the marks of the ill treatment they had suffer'd. In this state these Wretches were presented to the view of the Army ; where Arms were brought and laid before them, such as were us'd among the *Gauls*, and not unlike those the Princes of that Nation make use of in their single Combats : Besides these, there were produc'd Horses, and rich Habits and Furniture. Then it was demanded, If any among them were willing to engage and fight one with the other to the death, on condition the Vanquisher should have the Prize and the Reward there propos'd, while the Vanquish'd thereby put an end to his Misfortunes, by laying down his Life on the place ? Which Proposition they all unanimously cry'd out they were most willing to accept. Whereupon *Hannibal* order'd a certain number to be chosen by lot to enter the Lists, two and two, each imploring Fortune's favour. Those to whom the Lots fell manifested great joy, while the others, on the contrary, exceeding Grief. So they fought it out, while the rest of the Prisoners look'd on the Vanquish'd, as hardly less forrunate than the Victors, having by their death put a period to the Miseries

they endur'd. Nor had the *Carthaginians* themselves other Sentiments; who comparing the Life of those that surviv'd, with the Circumstances of those they saw slain, their Pity seem'd to encline to the Survivors, conceiving the Dead to be of the two the least unfortunate.

After *Hannibal* had entertain'd his Army with this Spectacle, he told them, That his purpose in so treating those Prisoners, was to instruct them, by an Example of the Calamities of others, in the Contingences of Human Life, and to the end to mind them of the State and Circumstances wherein they now were; for that, in a word, Fortune had now put them under the very same choice, and held out the same Prize and Rewards: That they were ty'd up to the same necessity of vanquishing, dying, or being made Captives to their Enemies: That if they obtain'd Victory, not fine Horses only magnificently furnish'd, wou'd be their Lot, but, by subduing the *Romans*, they would be the richest and happiest of all that ever had born Arms: That if they chanc'd to die doing their Duty bravely, such a Death was a Dignity full of Glory and Renown; a Death without pain or fear, and purchas'd in pursuit of the greatest Good that can happen to Mankind: But should they chance to be vanquish'd, and that the fear of Death or Danger should betray them to a base Flight; or if they had entertain'd

tain'd any Thought otherwise to be safe, they must then determine to endure the last effects of Misery and Misfortune. He said, There could be none among them so weak or stupid, who, reflecting on the tedious and terrible March they had had from their Native Homes thither, the many Perils, Combats, and dangerous Rencounters they had pass'd, the fearful Rivers they had Forded, and the like Dangers in their passage, can have the least shadow of expectation by flight, ever to return back: And that since that Hope was totally extinguish'd, they would do well to have the same Motions of Compassion of their own Fortune, as they entertain'd but now for that of others. For as they esteem'd the Condition of the Victors and the Vanquish'd equal, or rather saw cause to pity the Survivers, they could do no less for themselves than fight bravely; chiefly indeed to Conquer, but to die rather than not Overcome: For should it be their hap to be Vanquish'd, there would be no hopes of living; but if they could with determination imprint these Reflections in their Minds, there would be no doubt of Success, nor fear but they should live to enjoy the Fruits of it. That, in a word, none ever brought such Thoughts about them into the Field, whether out of their own Temper or Necessity, that were not crown'd with Victory. That the *Romans* hitherto had to deal with Enemies otherwise

than so inspir'd, who, for the most part, plac'd their Safety in flight, by reason they fought in the neighbourhood of their Country, which was their refuge ; and by which means they wanted Resolution to sustain the shock of Danger like an Enemy strengthen'd by Despair. *Hannibal's* Army heard with cheerfulness the discourse he made them, and manifested their Minds to be such as their Captain himself desir'd. He therefore highly applauded their generous Behaviour, and after he had told them, they should be in a readiness to march early on the Morrow, he dismiss'd the Assembly.

Cornelius Scipio had now pass'd the *Po*, and because he design'd to advance further, he caus'd a Bridge to be made over the *Tesin*. And drawing the Army together, he told them many things touching the Dignity and Glory of the *Roman-State*, and of the memorable Actions of their Ancestors. But take the relation (a little more or less) of what he deliver'd on that occasion. He told them, That tho' it might have so happen'd, that they had never yet try'd the Enemy they had now to deal with, they should nevertheless have reason to rely on Victory ; but since they were to fight against *Carthaginians*, they ought to hold it an insupportable Indignity to the Name of a *Roman*, that People so often by them beaten, and who had been so long their Tributaries, and bred to Servitude, should

should presume to look with an angry Eye on a Roman. But, saith he, *since we have learn'd by many glorious Experiments, that this Enemy will never have assurance to endure our approach; What ought we not to hope, if things are rightly weigh'd? How lately was it prov'd, that their Horse is inferiour to ours? which beat them at the Rhosne, and, after killing many, pursu'd the rest to their Camp.* He told them, That the General, and the rest of the Army, having had News of the approach of the Roman Legions, had retreated as if they fled, and the Terror they were in had compell'd them sore against their Wills to attempt passing the *Alpes* back again. He farther told them, That *Hannibal* was come with but an handful of Men, having lost the greatest part of his Army in his March; and that those he had with him were so harrass'd and weaken'd with Diseases, and the Hardships they had suffer'd, that they were totally disabled for Service. He farther told them, That the greatest part of their Horse were lost and made unserviceable by the broken and stony ways they had march'd through. He endeavour'd, by the like suggestions to perswade the Army, that the showing themselves only would be enough to obtain the Victory; and that furthermore, barely to behold the Enemy they had to deal with, would inspire them with Contempt. He said, in short, That he would not have

quitted the Fleet, nor his *Spanish Expedition*, whither he had been commanded to go, nor would have taken his March so willingly, had he not been firmly convinc'd, by many Arguments and Reasons, that the Journey he had undertaken was greatly for the Good of his Country, and that the Victory was certain. And now, being a Man of great Account and Authority, and it seeming to them that what he said was true, the Army with great Ardour and Resolution, demanded to be led against the Enemy. So after having commended their Chearfulness, and made them an Exhortation to be always in a Posture to receive his farther Commands, he dismiss'd them.

On the Morrow these two Captains began their March along the River, towards that part which regards the Mountains: The *Romans* on the Left, the others on the Right. The next Day, receiving News by their respective Foragers, that the Armies drew near, they both thought good to encamp where they were, and intrench themselves. But the next Morning *Hannibal*, at the head of his whole Body of Horse, and *Scipio* with his, to whom they joyn'd their Archers, took the Field; both wishing to see each other. And they no sooner perceiv'd by the Dust that was rais'd, that the Grois on each side drew near, when they began to range themselves in order of Battel. *Scipio* put his
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Darters in the Van, and mix'd the *Gaulish* Horse among them, and having ordered the rest Front-wise, mov'd slowly on. As for *Hannibal*, he plac'd his Horse that went with a single Bridle in the Van-guard, together with all the other chosen Horse he had, and so advanc'd against the *Romans*. He had likewise plac'd his *Numidians* on the Wings, to the end he might be able to come to attack the *Romans* Flank, and so surround them. And as the Leaders on both sides, and the Troops they commanded, were eager to engage, they soon came to Blows. But scarce had the *Roman* Darters deliver'd their first Volley, when terrify'd with the Violence of the Enemies Charge, and fearing to be trod and run down by the Horse which advanc'd, they retir'd in haste through the Intervals of their Battel, among their Horse. Those Bodies that came to ingage hand to hand fought with Resolution on both sides, and equal Bravery a good space, and the dispute seem'd no other than between Horse and Foot mingled, for many in the heat of the Battel alighted and fought on Foot. But when the *Numidians*, by taking a compass had got on the *Romans* Flank, the Darters, who had retreated thither, as was observ'd, were sorely streighten'd and soon defeated, the *Numidians* having incompass'd the greatest part of them. And now, at length, those in the Van, on the part of the *Romans*, who before stood so firm, having

having lost many Men, who had sold themselves at a good Price, were likewise driven to give ground upon the *Numidians*, charging their Flank.

Many made their escape, some one way, some another ; some rally'd about the Consul, who forthwith decamp'd from about the *Tesin*, and led his Troops towards the Bridge over the *Po*, with intention to pass there ; for as the Champaign Country in those Parts is of great extent, and that *Hannibal* was stronger in Horse, *Scipio* for that reason labour'd to lead the Legions into some safer and more proper Country ; and the rather, for that he was himself indispos'd of a Wound he receiv'd in the Battel. *Hannibal* staid some time in expectation the Legions would have appear'd ; but after he understood that the *Romans* had abandon'd their Camp, he follow'd them in the Rear as far as the Bridge, which he found broken, where he took about six hundred Prisoners of those that were left there on the Guard. And being told that the rest of the Army were now march'd a good distance off, he led his Troops up along the River in search of a proper place where he might make a Bridge ; and, after two Days march, having found means to make one of Boats, he order'd *Asdrubal* to lead over the Army, passing himself likewise ; there he gave Audience to sundry Ambassadors, who came to him from several places. For the bruit of his Victory
was

was no sooner spread, when all the neighbouring *Gauls* became dispos'd to declare for the *Carthaginians*; and, as it had been before suggested, they now courted their Friendship, supplying them with whatever they wanted, and offering frankly to joyn their Forces, and take part in their Adventures. *Hannibal* gave courteous Reception to those who were come with these Tenders, and after the Army had pass'd the River, he led them back down the Stream, and march'd with great Diligence to intercept the Enemy. But *Publius Scipio*, after he had pass'd the *Po*, march'd directly to *Placentia*, a Colony of the *Romans*, where he staid among the rest who were hurt in the Battel, to attend the cure of his Wounds, and believing the Army to be now in Safety, he there remain'd without further attempting any thing. But *Hannibal* arriving in two Days after he had pass'd the River, drew out his Army the next Day in Battalia in view of the Enemy; but the *Romans* not offering to stir, he retir'd and encamp'd about ten Miles off.

In the mean time the *Gauls*, who bore Arms under the *Romans*, beholding Fortune now to declare in favour of the *Carthaginians*, deliberated by common Consent to desert their Service, but continu'd quiet in their Tents, waiting the time to put their purpose in execution. And now, when the Army was reposing in their Quarters, about the fourth Watch

Watch they put themselves into Arms, and falling on the *Romans* that were nearest at hand, kill'd many, and wounded many more, and cutting off the Heads of those they had murder'd, march'd to the *Carthaginians* to the number of two Thousand Foot, and two Hundred Horse. *Hannibal*, by the kind reception he gave them, manifested how welcome the Action was to him; and, after he had with great gentleness invited them into his Service, and with ample Promises to every one according to his degree, he gave them leave to retire for the present to their respective Habitations, thereby to spread the Fame of his Actions, and to win over others to the Service and Friendship of the *Carthaginians*. And he had reason to conclude, they would now be constrain'd for the most part to come in to him, after so perfidious an act done by their Country-men. At the same time Ambassadors came to him from the *Boians*, bringing with them a Present of the three *Roman* Commissioners they had taken (as was observ'd) on the breaking out of the War, who had been deputed for the dividing and setting out the Lands in their Colonies. *Hannibal* gratefully receiv'd their Message, and their Offer, and enter'd into Confederacy with them; but restor'd back the Prisoners to their keeping, advising them to secure them under a safe Guard, whereby to redeem their Hostages, as they had formerly propos'd.

Scipio

Scipio much lamented the loss of his People, who had been cut off by so vile an Act of Treachery ; and rightly judging that the *Gauls*, who of a long time had nourish'd an inbred Aversion to the *Romans*, would (especially those of the neighbouring Countries, after having acted so criminal a Part) go over to the *Carthaginians* ; he therefore thought it Wisdom, for the time to come, to be more on his guard touching that People. Wherefore he decamp'd about the fourth Watch of the Night following, and march'd and encamp'd near the River *Trebia*, upon certain Eminences not far off, resting pretty well assur'd of the strength of the situation, it being in the neighbourhood of many of their Allies. *Hannibal* getting intelligence of the motions of the *Romans*, sent his *Numidians* in pursuit of them ; after these march'd the whole Horse of the Army, and himself with the Gros soon follow'd them. The *Numidians* coming to the *Romans* Camp, and finding it empty, stay'd to set it on fire, which greatly avail'd the *Romans* in their retreat : For the Horse, but for this delay caus'd by the *Numidians*, had certainly overtaken the *Romans* before they had pass'd the Plains ; in which case they undoubtedly had been very much expos'd. But forasmuch as the *Roman* Army had now time to pass over the *Trebia*, the Enemy coming short, had only the occasion left them of attacking their Rear-guard, where-

whereof some were slain, and others made Prisoners. *Scipio* then having thus compass'd his Passage over the River, encamp'd, I say, on high ground not far from it; and intrenching himself there, attended the coming of *Tiberius*, and the Legions that were with him, using all possible care and skill to get well of his Wounds, that he might be in a state to give the Enemy speedy Battel. But *Hannibal*, arriving two Days after he had pass'd the River, drew up his Army in view of the *Romans*; who not being dispos'd to engage him, he march'd away, and encamp'd six Miles off; the *Gauls* (who had now recover'd Courage by the hopes he had given them) supplying him with Provisions in abundance, and all things else of which he stood in need, being determin'd to share with the *Carthaginians* in all that should befall them. When the News came to *Rome* of the Battel of the Horse, they were astonish'd at the account of the issue, as expecting quite other success; but they comforted themselves with many Reasons to conclude, that at least they were not quite vanquish'd in that occasion. Some took leave to blame the Temerity of their Leader; and others rag'd against the perfidious *Gauls*: But, in a word, while they were assur'd that their Legions were entire, and had suffer'd nothing, they were resolv'd to abate nothing of their Hopes. And when *Tiberius Sempronius* arriv'd, and they beheld
his

his Troops pass through the City, they were persuaded, That such an Army by barely showing themselves to the Enemy, would do enough to vanquish them. When the Troops were rendezvous'd at *Rimini*, pursuant to the Orders they had receiv'd, and that they had taken the customary Oath, the Consul march'd forthwith in quest of *Scipio*; and as soon as he arriv'd, he encamp'd by him, taking care to refresh his Soldiers, who had had a tedious Voyage of forty Days betwixt *Lilybæum* and *Rimini*. In the mean space, Preparations were making to fight the Enemy; during which time, *Tiberius* never departed from *Scipio*, informing himself of every thing that had pass'd, and deliberating with him about what was best farther to be done.

About the same time *Hannibal* became possess'd of *Clastidium*, which he got by Intelligence, the Town being deliver'd up to him by one *Publius a Brundusian*, who had receiv'd the Government from the *Romans*. Here *Hannibal* found store of Corn, which he now stood in great need of: The Pris'ners he took with him, whom he treated with lenity enough; endeavouring to make show by that Action, of the gentle usage those might hope from him; who tho' they had taken part with the *Romans*, should so deliver themselves up to his discretion, and to the end they might with less apprehension resign themselves

selves to his Clemency. He treated likewise the treacherous Governor with great respect, and rewarded him magnificently, the better to work upon others to do the like, who had any charge under the *Romans*. And now receiving Intelligence, That certain *Gauls* his Confederates, inhabiting between the *Po* and the *Trebia*, held secret Commerce with the *Romans*, (who, it seems, conceiv'd, that by covertly favouring both Parties, they should be able to insure their Safety either way) against those he sent a Detachment of about two thousand Foot, and a thousand *Numidian* and *Gaulish* Horse, who punctually perform'd their Orders, ravaging the Country, and taking much Booty. Whereupon the *Gauls* so treated, apply'd to the *Romans* to succour and secure them. *Sempronius*, who had long thirsted after an occasion to come to action; having now found it, forthwith orders the major part of his Horse, and about a thousand Darters to march, who fall on the *Numidians* and *Gauls*, that were still pillaging the Country on the other side the *Trebia*, taking them by surprize, and without any order, and while they were in contest among themselves about sharing their Plunder; and being too hard for them, beat and pursu'd them to their Camp. But they were no sooner discover'd from the Rampart, when the *Carthaginians* taking the Alarm, sally'd to their relief, and made the *Romans*

in their turn to shew their Backs, and hasten to their Camp. Which being observ'd by *Sempronius*, he commanded out all the Cavalry and Darters he had, who oblig'd the *Carthaginians* to return as hastily as they came, and cover themselves in their Retrenchments. *Hannibal*, who was not yet ready to come to a Battel, and believ'd that he ought not to hazard all at one hasty Cast, and without mature Deliberation, behav'd himself in this Rencounter in such manner, as that all the World must own, became a Great General : For contenting himself barely to make those who had fled into the Camp, to face about and make head against the Enemy, he then sounded a retreat, not permitting them to pursue the *Romans*, or longer to engage. The *Romans* stood their ground for a space ; and after they had sustain'd some loss themselves, but done greater execution on the Enemy, they retir'd.

Sempronius being inflam'd by this success, his Passion grew yet greater to come to a Battel, and decide at once the Fortune of the War. And albeit he was determin'd to attempt his utmost, by his single Authority, during *Scipio's* Indisposition ; yet because it would be a mighty pleasure to him to have his Colleague's Concurrence, he imparted his Design to him ; but found him not of his Opinion. *Scipio* told him, That the new

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untrain'd Soldiers would be better in the Spring, if care were taken to exercise them during the Winter, and accustom them to Military Duties: And if the *Carthaginians* attempted nothing further, and were driven to be quiet for a while, the *Gauls*, who were naturally an inconstant People, it was likely would once again desert them. Furthermore he told him, That as soon as Strength would enable him, he had something to put in execution, which would much redound to the Service of his Country. With these and such-like Reasons it was, that *Publius* sought to prevail on *Sempronius* not to engage in any hazardous Enterprize. And *Sempronius* himself could not but see, that the Counsel was wholesome which *Scipio* propounded; but, blinded with Ambition, and a good Opinion of his own Sufficiency, he resolv'd to do his utmost to be at the head of some Action, before his Colleague could be able to appear in the Field, and the new Election of Consuls should be made, which now drew near. Forasmuch then as since he found he could not accommodate the Occasion to his purpose, and was yet resolv'd to bend it to his Will, he soon made it visible, that nothing was likely to be prudently done under his Direction, and that things would run a mighty hazard. On the other hand, *Hannibal* thought as *Scipio* did, touching the present posture of Affairs, and therefore sought all occasions to come

come to a Battel. For as he was willing to make use of the forwardness the *Gauls* manifested, while there Minds were yet unshaken; so he well knew, that the sooner he fought, the rarer his Enemy would be with whom he was to engage, the Army being, for the most part, compos'd of young new-raisd Men. Furthermore, *Scipio* he knew continu'd indispos'd of his Wounds: And, in a word, what was yet of greater weight, he thought it not safe to remain long without Action. For who so enters with an Army into a Foreign Country, and hath great Designs to execute, hath but one way to succeed and be secure; namely, by incessantly engaging in new and signal Enterprizes, whereby to renew and support the Courage and Hopes of his Friends. *Hannibal* then observing *Sempronius's* precipitate forwardness to come to a Battel, did all he could on his part to gratifie him.

When he had carefully survey'd the Plain that lay between the two Camps, tho' he found it for the most part very level, nevertheless he discover'd certain Places proper enough for laying of Ambushes. In short, there was a Brook hard by, the Banks whereof were somewhat rais'd above the level of the Plain, and over-grown with Bushes and Brambles, which place he resolv'd to make use of to execute what he had in his Mind to do; and he concluded his Design was the more

promising by how much the *Romans* were only jealous of the Woods and Forest, and Places of Covert, which the *Gauls* for the most part made choice of for their Ambushes, but thought themselves safe from that danger in bare and open Countries; not considering that such situations often yield better and safer means to form such Designs than the thickest Woods. For, in short, those who are so lodg'd are better able to look about them, and discover from far all that passes, and there is often found in such Plains rising Ground and Eminences fit to cover and conceal Men; nor is there hardly any River or Brook so small that hath not some kind of shelter on the Banks, that are for the most part cover'd too with Shrubs and Brambles, and the like Under-wood, where Foot may be very easily conceal'd, and even Horse also with a little care, by grounding their Arms, which are otherwise discover'd at a distance. After *Hannibal* then had held a Council of War, where his Brother *Mago*, and the rest of his Principal Officers were present, to deliberate about the Battel which they expected would be speedily fought, where they all approv'd of what he had therein propos'd; and, while the Army refresh'd themselves, he took his Brother to conferr with apart, (who was a gallant young Man, and train'd from his Childhood to Arms) to whom he first appointed an hundred chosen Horse, and the like

like number of select Foot, for his Guard; then he order'd him, before it was dark, to pick out a certain number of the bravest Men he could find in the whole Army, whom he should direct to assemble, and attend at his Tent after Supper for further Orders. At the time appointed they appear, where, after he had exhorted them to the well-performance of their Duty, and observ'd their chearful Behaviour, he commanded them to sort themselves by two and two, each one to chuse for his Companion the Man he best lov'd, and most trusted: These he commanded to draw together, and assemble in a certain place he appointed in the Camp. After these Orders were executed, *Hannibal* out of these drew out a thousand Horse, and the like number of Foot, with Instruction to *Mago* how to put his Orders in execution, and then privily dispatch'd them away during the Night, accompany'd with proper Guides to the Place of Ambush. Early in the Morning *Hannibal* assembled all his *Numidians*, a hardy and indefatigable People; these, after he had well encourag'd and fairly promis'd to each one Rewards in proportion to his Merit, he commanded to march out, and brave the Enemy in the Camp, with Directions, that as soon as they should draw out to engage them, and they had began to Pickeer, that they should then retire back over the River. His design being laid to surprize the *Romans*

into a Battel fasting, and not so well prepar'd for the business as they ought. Then he directed the rest of the Army (after his usual Exhortation) to take a good repast, and be ready under their Arms, and with their Horses ready to march.

Sempronius the next Morning no sooner saw the *Numidians* approach when he commanded out the *Roman* Horse, with Orders to attack them; to sustain these he order'd out six thousand Darters, and at length march'd the whole Army out of the Camp: For he had conceiv'd such an assurance in the Numbers he had, and was become so bold by his late Success, that he reckon'd, the show only of such a Body of Men would go far towards a Victory. And now it may be noted, that as the Winter was not yet quite past, so the Day was snowy and very cold. Furthermore, the *Romans*, both Horse and Foot, had been made to march out of their Camp most of them fasting; insomuch as the same Army that took the Field so forwardly began soon to shrink: For when they came to ford the River which was much swell'd with the Rain of the Night before, the Water was Breast-high, so that the *Romans* thus contending at once with Hunger and Cold, (for the Day was now well advanc'd) began to sink in their Courage, and abate in their Strength; while the *Carthaginians* on the contrary had taken a plentiful repast in their Tents, and were well

well fortify'd with Meat and Drink, and had anointed their Bodies before they put on their Arms.

Hannibal, who had long waited the occasion, seeing the Enemy now over the River, order'd the *Baleares* to advance with the rest of the light-arm'd Troops, to the number of eight thousand Men, to sustain them. And having march'd about a Mile from his Camp, he drew up his Army in Battalia; his Line of Foot consisting of *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Africans*, amounted to about twenty thousand; his Horse, which he plac'd on the Wings, to above ten thousand, comprehending those which had been sent by the *Gauls*, his Confederates; his Elephants he plac'd advanc'd before the two Points of the Battel. In the meantime *Sempronius* order'd a Retreat to be sounded to draw off his Horse, who were totally to seek how to behave themselves against this new Enemy, with whom they had to do: For they engag'd against *Numidians*, whose way was to retreat in haste, and to break and disperse themselves, and to rally again with ease, and return boldly to the Charge when they were least expected, which is the *Numidian* manner of fighting. As to the Foot, *Tiberius* had drawn them up after the *Roman* Order. There march'd in this Expedition sixteen thousand *Roman* Foot, and twenty thousand of the Allies. For when ever their Armies represented

(as one may say) the Body of the Republick, and that both the Consuls joyn'd their Troops on any pressing occasion, the *Roman Army* consisted of that number. In short, *Sempronius* posted his Horse on the Wings, amounting to about four Thousand, and with a proud Port and slow motion advanc'd in good order against the Enemy.

The two Armies now drawing near, the light-arm'd Troops, who were advanc'd a good distance before the Lines of Battel, began the fight. It was visible from the beginning, that the *Romans* fought with disadvantage; and that on the other hand the *Carthaginians* had every thing conspiring in their Favour. For the *Roman* Darters who had been harrafs'd all the Morning till then, had spent almost all their Ammunition against the *Numidians*, and what remain'd was now wet and spoil'd. Their Horse and the rest of their Army was not in a much better condition, while the Enemy was in every thing superior; for, coming into the Battel fresh and vigorous, they perform'd their Duty more chearfully, and with greater readiness obey'd the Orders of their Leaders. Wherefore, as soon as they had secur'd the retreat of their light-arm'd Troops, and the advanc'd Parties that began the Battel, and their gross and heavy-arm'd Troops came to ingage, the *Romans*, not able to sustain the first Charge of the Enemy's Horse, which not only outnumber'd theirs,
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but were likewise in better plight (as was noted) beat them from their Post ; so that leaving the Flanks of their Foot now uncover'd, the *Carthaginian* Pikes, and a Party of *Numidians*, who were posted near their Companions, and had out-march'd the rest of the Body, fell on the Points of the *Romans* Battel, whom they so hard press'd, that they disabled them from making head against those who charg'd them in Front : Nevertheless, their heavy-arm'd Troops every where, in the first and second Ranks, fought it at hand for a while with doubtful Bravery.

But the Ambush of *Numidians* now rising, and falling unlook'd for on the backs of the *Romans* who were got beyond them, put them into great disorder. And those on the two Points of the *Roman* Battel, finding themselves press'd in Front by the Elephants, and in Flank by the light-arm'd Troops, no longer able to sustain it, forsook their Ground, and flying were pursu'd by the *Carthaginians* to the River. In a word, the *Numidian* Ambush coming to Charge the Rear of the *Roman* Battel, slew many of them: While those in the first Ranks, animated by necessity, charg'd the *Gauls* and some *Africans*, with whom they had to deal, with great Resolution, and killing many, broke the *Carthaginian* Battalion. Nevertheless, when they beheld the two Points naked, and defeated, being now without hope of succouring them, or of
being

being able to gain their Camp, by reason of the multitude of the *Carthaginian* Horse, which greatly terrify'd them, and the Rivers being also much risen by the Rains that had fallen; by which Impediments despairing to gain their Camp, they safely retreated to the number of ten Thousand to *Placentia*; the greatest part of the rest being slain on the Banks of the River *Trebia*, partly by the Elephants, and partly by the Enemies Horse; some few Foot only, and a good Party of Horse escaping; who following the rest, got likewise into *Placentia*. As to the *Carthaginians*, after they had pursu'd the Enemy to the River, not being able for excessive cold to follow them further, they retir'd to their Camp. There was great joy in the *Carthaginian* Army on the occasion of this Success; for their loss fell not heavy either on the *Spaniards* or *Africans*, but mostly on the *Gauls*: Howbeit, they had suffer'd so much by the Snow, and the extream rigour of the Weather, that many Men and Horses dy'd afterwards of Cold, and all their Elephants save one.

Sempronius was not ignorant of the great consequence of this Defeat, but was willing however to hide it all he could from the Senate; accordingly, he sent his Dispatches to *Rome*, wherein he gave them to understand, that the severity of the Weather had snatch'd the Victory out of his hands. This the Ro-

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mans were at first willing to believe ; but when they understood soon after, That the *Carthaginians* were possess'd of their Camp ; That the *Gauls* from all Quarters had revolted to them ; and, That the *Roman* Soldiers were scatter'd here and there after the Battel, securing themselves in the neighbouring Towns, and that they had no subsistence but what was convey'd to them by Water up the *Po* ; they then became better instructed how to reckon of the issue of that Battel. Nevertheless, tho' their Affairs had so ill succeeded, contrary to the expectation of all the World, they proceeded to new Preparations for the War ; they consulted how to secure such Places as were in the neighbourhood of the Enemy ; they determin'd to dispatch Forces into *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, and supply'd *Tarentum* and other proper places with good Garrisons. Furthermore, they equipp'd and sent to Sea a Fleet of sixty Ships. *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* also, who were the new Consuls, rais'd Levies among their Allies, and made provision of Victual, which they sent to *Rimini* and into *Tuscany*, with show of purposing to send Troops into those Parts. They likewise demanded Supplies of *Hieron*, who sent them five Hundred *Candiots*, and a Thousand Buckler-men. Thus with mighty providence they proceeded in all necessary Preparations ; and it must be confess'd of the *Romans*, that they are every way a terrible
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Enemy, even when they are most terrify'd and menac'd with Danger.

During these Transactions in *Italy*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, to whom his Brother had given the Command of the Naval Army, (as we have elsewhere noted) landed on the Coast of *Spain*, somewhere not far from the *Empories*; where showing his Army, he coasted along as far as the *Eber*, reducing such by force as made resistance, and receiving with singular Humanity into his protection, such as voluntarily came in; and took care, above all things, that the Army offer'd violence to none. And after he had secur'd, by good Garrisons, such Places as he had brought under the Obedience of the *Romans*, he march'd further up into the Country with his whole Army, having been reinforc'd with new Auxiliaries, which he levy'd among the *Spaniards*, taking in all Places by force that lay in the way of his march. In the mean time, *Hanno*, who Commanded for the *Carthaginians* in these Parts, observing the progress *Scipio* made, presently march'd his Army, and came and encamp'd close by him, not far from the City of *Cissa*. Whereupon they came to a Battel, and the *Carthaginians* were beaten, the *Romans* taking very much Plunder, those who had march'd with *Hannibal* having (as we noted) left the greatest part of their Substance in their keeping. He made Alliance also, Offensive and Defensive, with
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all those on this side the River *Eber*. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* General was taken Prisoner, together with *Indibilis* the *Spaniard*, who had usurp'd Kingly Authority over those who inhabited the inland Country, and had preserv'd a particular and fast Affection for the *Carthaginians*. As soon as *Asdrubal* had notice of this Adventure, he pass'd the *Eber* to come to the succour of his Party; but in the interim receiving advice, That the *Roman* Sea-men belonging to the Fleet behav'd themselves negligently, being grown careless and presumptuous on the success of their Land-Forces, he march'd first against them, taking with him eight Thousand of his best Foot, and a Thousand Horse; and finding the *Romans* dispers'd and scatter'd about the Country, he fell upon them, killing the greatest part, and pursuing the rest to their Fleet. But he attempted nothing further, but march'd back the way he came; and repassing the *Eber*, remain'd the Winter at *New-Carthage*, where he made all necessary provision to sustain the War, and for the defence of the Towns on that side the River. As to *Cn. Scipio*, as soon as he was come back to the Fleet, he there animadverted on those, according to the *Roman* Law of Discipline, who he found had been guilty of the occasion of that Defeat: And after he had drawn together and embody'd all his Forces by Sea and Land, he march'd, and kept his Winter-
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Quarters at *Tarracona*. He divided the Booty that had been taken among the Soldiers, by which he greatly gain'd their Good-will, and establish'd in them a more chearful Disposition of Obedience to such future Orders as the Service should make necessary. Thus we have set down the state of Affairs at that time in *Spain*.

Early the following Spring, *Cn. Flaminius* led the Legions through *Tuscany*, and came to *Arezzo*, where he encamp'd. But *Cn. Servilius* march'd to *Rimini*, to do his best to shut up the Enemy's passage that way. As to *Hannibal*, he held his Winter-Quarters in the *Cisalpine Gaul*, where he us'd his *Roman* Prisoners with great rigour; for over and above their being under severe restraint, their Sustenance was dispens'd to them very parsimoniously; while, on the other hand, their Allies, who, tho' they were likewise Prisoners, were us'd however with all possible Humanity: These he caus'd to be assembled, where he told them, That he had undertaken a Voyage into *Italy*, not to molest or make War on them, but to fight their Battels against the *Romans*; and remonstrated to them, That if they knew how to consult their own Good, they would do well to court his Friendship: That his chief end was to restore Liberty to the *Italians*, and to re-establish the Inhabitants in the Towns and Villages, whom the *Romans* had injuriously dispossest'd. After this,

this, he dismiss'd them, and order'd them all to be enlarg'd Ransom-free, the better thereby to engage the People of *Italy* to his Party, and to alienate them from the *Romans*, and to animate such against them to whom the *Romans* had done any late violence, by seizing any Town or Sea-Port.

He had likewise meditated during the Winter, another piece of *African-Craft*; for being well instructed in the *Gaulish* Levity, and apprehensive lest they should form any secret Design on his Life, his Friendship with them being yet but new, he caus'd Perukes to be made of sundry sorts, and for divers Ages; than which nothing disguiseth more, even to a degree of rendring People totally Strangers to one another; of these, sometimes he us'd one sort, sometimes another, providing Habits likewise sort'd to every kind of Disguise, insomuch as those who but now departed from his Presence, could not know him a moment after; nor could his most intimate Friends, without difficulty, distinguish him. And now *Hannibal* taking notice that the rest of the *Gauls* were not very well satisfy'd that their Country should continue to be the Seat of War, and that the Army was dispos'd to follow him every-where, and impatiently desir'd to march into the Enemy's Country, for the Hatred they pretended to the *Romans* (while in truth their thirst of Booty was at the bottom) thought it time to move out of his

his Winter-Quarters, to gratifie the Desire of the Army. Accordingly, as soon as the Weather favour'd his Design, and he had been thoroughly instructed in the way he propos'd to march, resolving to shun the common Road, as being too long, and too well known to the Enemy; and concluding, that tho' the way through the low Fenny Country into *Tuscany* was the most difficult, yet being the shortest cut, and that *Flaminius* would be astonish'd at so hardy an Attempt; he therefore (who was ever enclin'd to such-like Enterprizes) determin'd to take his passage that way. But it was no sooner bruited in the Army, that the General had taken that Resolution, when every one shew'd his own share of fear for so hazardous a March, through a Country lying for the most part under water, and full of conceal'd Pits and Precipices.

Nevertheless, *Hannibal*, after he had well inform'd himself of the Nature of the Soil through which he was to march, being now satisfy'd, that albeit the way was wet and marshy, yet that it was hard at bottom, caus'd the Army to march. The Van he gave to the *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and appointed the care of the Baggage to the best and most useful Men in the Army, to the end that if they should be oblig'd to encamp, they might have every thing at hand of which they cou'd stand in need: For in their other Marches, he took little or no care for the
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transporting of Provisions along with him; taking for granted, That if they were vanquish'd, they should need none; and, That if they overcame and made themselves Masters of the Country, where-ever they came all things would be provided for them. The *Gauls* march'd in the Rear of the *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and the Horse in the Rear of all. *Hannibal* order'd *Mago* to have a vigilant care to keep the Soldiers from stragling, and to march the Army in their order, apprehensive least the *Gauls* especially, whose sloth and impatience of Labour he very well knew, should through the travail of so hard a march, be tempted to return back by the way they came; wherefore the Horse were so posted, that they might compel those to march, who otherwise might be dispos'd to desert the Service. The *Spaniards* and *Africans* then advanc'd into the Fens, where none before had ever adventur'd to go, and bore their part with chearfulness, they being a robust People, and harden'd to the like toilsome Exercises; but it far'd not so with the *Gauls*, who march'd not but with great difficulty, for the Ground having been potch'd and broken by those who march'd in the Van, they often fell, and were not able to keep their Legs. It being very difficult for them to support that kind of Travel, to which they had never been accusom'd, nor had they any hopes of remedy by returning back, the Horse being posted to

hinder them. In a word; the whole Army suffer'd unspeakable Hardships in this march, and what was most troublesome, they were forc'd to pass four Days and Nights without sleep, marching constantly in Water; but to the *Gauls* it was most grievous, the greatest part of their Horse and other Beasts were lost by the way, falling and sticking in the Mud and Mire, which yet prov'd in some sort a relief to the Soldiers; for lying with their Burthens in the way above Water, they pass'd over them dry-shod, and often made use of them to repose on for some short space. The Hoofs of many of their Horses that escap'd drop'd off through so long a Journey in the Water and Fenny Ground. *Hannibal* himself, who was carry'd by the only Elephant that was left, shar'd a severe part of the Hardship of the Journey; for being before much afflicted with a defluxion in his Eyes, his Malady grew to that height that he lost one entirely by the way, for want of time and convenient place to attend his Cure.

After the Army (to the wonder of all the World) had pass'd the Fens, *Hannibal* being inform'd that *Flaminius* was posted near *Arrezzo*, he led his Army as soon as possibly he could into the Upland Country, as well to refresh and repose his Men, as to inform himself of the Enemies Purposes, and of the course and situation of the Country. And after he had been told, that the Territory was rich,
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and that there was much Plunder to be got ; that *Flaminius* was more an Orator than a Soldier ; that tho' he had the Gift of Persuasion, he was totally to seek in Military Matters ; and that furthermore, he was proud and grown confident of his numbers, and the strength of his Army ; he therefore concluded, that if he could by any means march by him, and get into the Country beyond him, that this Consul not able to suffer the Clamours and Repraches of the Country-People, would be drawn to do his utmost to hinder him from spoiling and ravaging the Country ; and that, in short, he would be drawn into greater Assurance and Negligence, and endeavour to Attack the *Carthaginians* at any rate, and follow them whithersoever they should lead him ; and that impatient to share the sole Honour of the Victory, he would not be persuaded to attend the coming of his Colleague. In short, he collected by all these Circumstances, that *Flaminius* was likely to afford him many occasions to surprize him, and lay Ambushes in his way to gall and molest him. And in truth he was not mistaken in the judgment he had made of this Consul. And most certain it is, that they think very wide of the Truth, who conceive, that to acquire a right Knowledge, and take just Measures of the Humour and Character of the Enemy he is to deal with, is not among the prime Qualities and Duties of a

General. For as not only when we fight Man to Man, but when one Rank chargeth another, he who thinks of Victory ought with exact care to observe, what naked or weak part the Enemy discovers, whereby to compass his End; in like manner, those who have the Leading of Armies in time of War, ought with skill and address to penetrate and discover the weak side of the Mind of that Captain with whom he hath to do. For there are those, who by an unaccountable kind of Imbecility and a Thoughtfulness which infects all the Actions of Life, are not only remiss in their Publick Administrations, but forget what belongs to the Duty of their Private Affairs.

Some are so abandon'd to the use of Wine, that neglecting Nature's invitations to repose, they become at length unable to sleep, otherwise than by the Fumes of excessive Drinking; others are captivated by Love, who have not only thereby sacrific'd the Safety of Cities and great States, but have themselves paid down their own Lives with Infamy. Cowardice, and a base Mind are Faults throughout the World, but most capital in a General; they are Blemishes to every private Man, where-ever they are found, and mark him with Reproach; but in the Leader of an Army, they are a publick Curse and Calamity. For, in short, they are not only the cause of Armies languishing in Sloth and Idleness, with-

without ever entring on Action ; but they themselves, who rely on such Leaders , are often led into Precipices and inextricable Dangers. Rashness, Passion, Pride, and Vain-Glory, are all so many inlets to the Enemies Success, leading Men as it were, and subjecting them to the Triumph of their Foes, and hurrying their Friends, and those who trust them, to Perdition: For such Men are always expos'd to the Trains and Stratagems of their Enemies. Wherefore he who wisely studies and attains a right Knowledge of the Frailties and Weak-side of an Enemy, and Attacks him there, by vanquishing the Leader, will soon be Master both of the General and his Army. For as a Vessel that hath once lost her Pilot, is not long able to dispute it with an Enemy, and by taking him we soon become Masters of all that was under his Charge ; so in War, where the one General is superior in Cunning or Military Abilities to the other, he shall also render his Army superior to his Enemies. Thus, in a word, our wise *African*, having taken a scantling of the *Roman* General's Capacity, came at length to gain his Point.

After *Hannibal* had decamp'd from about *Fesulé*, and had march'd by, and got some distance beyond the *Roman* Camp, he fell on their Frontiers ; whereupon the Consul became inrag'd to be thus contemn'd, as he conceiv'd. But *Hannibal* had no sooner began

to spoil and ravage the Country, and the Smoke which appear'd every where from far, made it manifest that he was burning and destroying all before him : *Flaminius* could not then abstain from Tears. Nevertheless, when any undertook to advise, that it would be the safest course however not to follow and engage temerariouſly with the Enemy, nor to come too haſtily, and without mature deliberation, to a Battel with an Army ſo much ſuperior to them in Horſe ; and above all, that he ought to attend the coming of the other Conſul, and not adventure on Action till all their Troops were incorporated ; he lent ſo deaf an Ear to theſe Counſels, that he had not Patience ſo much as to hear them ; demanding of thoſe who thus advis'd him, What they thought the People of *Rome* would ſay of him, ſhould he permit the *Carthaginians* to burn and deſtroy the Country with Fire and Sword up to the Walls of the City, while he remain'd in *Tuſcany* an idle Spectator of the Deſolation of his Country, and in the Rear of the Enemy, without attempting any thing ? Wherefore he decamp'd, and caus'd the Army to march, and without regard to ſeaſon or ſituation, thought on nothing but how he might come ſpeedily to a Battel, as if Victory were the thing of all others he leaſt doubted. And, in a word, he had poſſeſs'd the Army with ſo ſtrong an expectation of Succeſs, that there were ſeen more Camp-Wenches,

Wenches, and the rake-helly Equipage of Boys and Vagabonds following the Army, than there were Soldiers who bare Arms; and all this Rabble bringing with them Chains and Shackles to secure the Prisoners. In the mean time *Hannibal* led his Army through *Tuscany*, on that Quarter that lies toward *Rome*, leaving the City of *Corone* and the neighbouring Mountains on his left-hand, and on his right the Lake *Thrasimene*; and, the more to provoke the *Romans*, he sack'd and destroy'd all the Towns that lay in his march, and did them all the other mischiefs that are the product of the cruellest War. But as soon as he had notice of the approach of *Flaminius*, and had made choice of Ground proper to put his Designs in execution, he resolv'd to delay fighting no longer.

The Ground he had chosen lay thus: There was a tract of plain even Ground, stretching out in length a good distance. This Level or Vale lay between, and was inclos'd on both sides with high Mountains, the farther end thereof being bounded by an inaccessible Eminence, and the entrance border'd on a Lake, between which and the said Mountain there is a very narrow Way or Defile which leads into the Plain. *Hannibal* then having pass'd into the Plain by that Streight, takes first possession of the high Ground, he had in Front, where he lodg'd his *Spaniards* and *Africans*; behind the

Mountains on the right, he posted the *Balears*, and the rest of his light-arm'd Troops, order'd in one deep File, and posted the *Gaulish* Horse in the like order behind the Mountains on his left, in such manner that they reach'd as far as the Defile we mention'd between the Lake and the Mountains, which is the Inlet to the Plain. These Orders being executed in the Night, and *Hannibal* having thus surrounded the Plain, he remain'd quiet, making show of a Desire to sit still and attempt nothing. In the mean time, *Flaminius* follows close at his Rear, eagerly pursuing his Determination to attack him ; and arriving in the Evening near the Lake *Thrasimene*, he there encamp'd, and early the next Morning march'd with his Van-guard along the Vale by the side of the Lake, with determination to fall on the Enemy. The Day prov'd very dark and lowring, by reason of a great Fogg that was risen ; nevertheless, *Hannibal*, upon notice that the better part of the *Roman* Army was now enter'd on the Plain, and that their Vanguard was hard at hand, gave the Signal of Battel, dispatching his Orders to those who were in ambush to do their Duty ; so that the Enemy was on the sudden surrounded, and at once attack'd on all sides.

Flaminius and the whole Army with him, were struck with astonishment at this surprising shock of the Enemy ; for the Fogg was
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so thick, that they were not able to see about them; and the Enemy falling among them from the Hills in all Quarters at once, the Tribunes and Captains of the *Romans* could not discern which way to lead their Men, nor how to bring Succours and Relief where 'twas wanted, and were, in a word, totally to seek how to behave themselves; for they were charg'd at one and the same time in Front, Flank, and Rear, by which means great numbers were slain, not as Men fighting like Soldiers in Battel, but taken as it were by stealth in their march, ere they were able to put themselves in a posture of defence, being, as one may say, betray'd and ensnar'd by the Imprudence of their General. *Flaminius* himself, now destitute both of Hope and Resolution, falling among a Party of *Gauls*, was by them environ'd and slain. In this Battel there fell, on the part of the *Romans*, to the number of fifteen Thousand; who were so beset, that they could neither fight nor fly; for it is religiously observ'd in the *Roman* Discipline, never to abandon their Ranks, or break their Order by flight. Those who were surpriz'd in the Passage between the Lake and the Mountain dy'd miserably; for being push'd by the Enemy into the Lake, some being forc'd into the Water with their Arms, not having leisure to think what they did, were unfortunately drown'd; others, being the greater part, enter'd the Lake, as far as they

they were able, leaving nothing above Water but their Heads, where they remain'd a while, till the Horse coming in, attack'd them there: Whereupon seeing there was now no other Remedy, they demanded quarter in vain, being all cut off, those who were not slain by the Enemy killing one another. About six Thousand, who were well advanc'd in the Plain, chanc'd to have the better of the Enemy, whom they fought with in Front; but in regard they could not discover how the Battel went, they knew not whither to move, or whom to relieve, tho' it had been in their Power to have done much toward a Victory. Wherefore, believing they might light on some further occasion of Action, they held on their march, advancing till they had gain'd the top of the Hills; where, after they had remain'd a while, and the Fogg began to clear up, beholding the lamentable state of their Army, and it being now out of their power to perform any Service to purpose, (the Enemy being Masters of the Field) they made good their Retreat to a certain Town in *Tuscany*. But the Battel was no sooner over, when *Hannibal* sent a Detachment of *Spaniards*, and his light-arm'd Troops after them, under the Command of *Maherbal*, who besieg'd them in the Place; and after he had reduc'd them to extremity, they yielded to his discretion, who gave them their Lives. Thus have we given the Narrative of this Battel
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tel that was fought in *Tuscany*, between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* causing *Maherbal's* Prisoners, to whom quarter had been given, to be brought before him, together with the rest that had fallen into their hands, to the number of fifteen Thousand: After he had told them, That it was by his Orders that *Maherbal* had given them their Lives, he distributed the *Roman* Prisoners to the Army, to secure them under a good Guard; but he sent home all the *Latins gratis*, telling them only, (what hath been elsewhere noted) That he was not come to invade or molest the *Italians*, but to rescue their Liberty out of the hands of the *Romans*. After this, he led his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, and solemnly bury'd thirty of his Officers, who had been slain in the Battel; His other Losses were inconsiderable, the Victory not costing him above fifteen Hundred Men, whereof the major part were *Gauls*.

And now his Hopes being thus justly rais'd, he deliberated with his Brother, and the rest of his Friends, about the future Methods they were to take, for improving the Victories they had gain'd. In the mean time, when the news came to *Rome* of this Defeat, the Magistrates, who could neither soften nor diminish it, the Stroke had fallen so heavy, assembled the People, to whom they reported the naked truth of their Case. And when at the same time the Prætor, ascending the Tribunal,

bunal, pronounc'd these words, *We are Overcome*, they were struck with such terror, that those who were then present, and had been in the Battel, thought they had cause to believe the Defeat was greater in *Rome* than in the Field. Nor indeed was this surprize without reason; for the *Romans*, who had held so long a possession of Victory, and were to learn the mournful Language of Vanquish'd and Oppress'd, knew not how with Constancy to support an Affliction so new and unexpected. The Senate only preserv'd their Temper with decency, and omitted nothing that belong'd to their Function, holding frequent Assemblies to deliberate about a Remedy for the Disease of which they were so sick.

During these Transactions, the other Consul, who was at *Rimini* near *Adria*, on the Skirts of the *Gauls*, and Confines of *Italy*, not far from the mouth of the *Po*, receiving intelligence that *Hannibal* was advanc'd into *Tuscany*, and had besieg'd *Flaminius* in his Camp, had therefore resolv'd to march to his Relief, and joyn their Troops: But in regard his Army was too numerous to march all in one Body, he therefore pick'd out four Thousand Horse from the whole number of their Cavalry; and giving the Command of these to *C. Centronius*, order'd him to march before with expedition, in order to the relief of *Flaminius*, in case he should chance to be press'd before he could arrive. But when

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Hannibal got intelligence that they were now sending those Succours after the Battel was lost, he order'd out *Maherbal*, with the light-arm'd Troops, and a Body of Horse, to encounter them. Accordingly they met with *Centronius*, fought with him, and beat him, killing almost half his Men on the place, and forcing the rest to take Sanctuary on a neighbouring Hill, and the next Day they fell alive into their hands. It was but three Days ago that the news of their Misfortunes at the Battel of *Thrasimene* came to *Rome*, and their Sorrow in the utmost ferment, when, to fill up the measure of their Affliction, the news of this their last Defeat arrives; when behold now not only the People in consternation, but the Senate it self became sensibly touch'd. Whereupon they thought it needful, without deliberating on the Election of their Annual Magistrates, to resolve on the choice of some one single Person, in whom the sole Authority should center. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, who by the success of his Arms, grew to believe he should be more than a Match for the *Romans*, did not think it convenient to approach presently nearer *Rome*. Wherefore he continu'd to harraß and spoil the Country, destroying all by Fire and Sword where-ever he came, taking his march toward *Adria*, where he arriv'd in ten Days, passing by the Frontiers of the *Insubrians* and *Picentines*. The Country in his march being

ing rich, the Plunder of the Army grew so great and cumbersome, that they could neither carry nor otherwise transport it. The People where-ever he came, he us'd with great Cruelty, and, according to the common manner of Treatment of Towns that are taken by force, order'd all to be slain that they could find of Age to bear Arms; such merciless impression had *Hannibal's* Hatred to the *Romans* given him.

Incamping now not far from *Adria*, in a pleasant and fruitful Country, abounding in all things, he there gave order for the curing of his sick and infirm Soldiers and Horses; for in his Winter-Incampments, in the hither *Gaul*, where he lay expos'd to all the rigours of the open Air, incommoded by the stench of the filth and ordure of the Camp, that what by their unwholsome Incampments, what by their march through the Fens, both Men and Horses (the whole Army over) were generally infected with a Disease call'd by the *Greeks* *Lemopsoron*; but with us, the *Scurf* or *Scab*, which comes by Unwholsome Diet and hard Usage: Wherefore happening into this place, so commodious for every thing, he was willing they should want for nothing that might advance their Recovery, renew the Strength, and recruit the Spirits of the Soldiers. *Hannibal* being now possess'd of great quantities of *Roman* Arms, of those he had either slain or taken, he therefore arm'd his
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Africans after the *Roman* manner : He also dispatch'd Letters by Sea to *Carthage*, giving an account of his Successes, having never since his coming into *Italy* till now approach'd the Sea-Coast. The *Carthaginians* receiv'd the News with great acclamations of Joy, and deliberated how best to re-inforce and supply their Armies both in *Spain* and *Italy*; with all things of which they might stand in need.

The *Romans*, in the mean time, created *Fabius Maximus* Dictator, a Person of a noble House, and of so exemplary Vertue, that his single Merit acquir'd to his Family the Title of *Maximi*, from the great Actions he so happily atchiev'd. There is this difference among others betwixt a Dictator and a Consul ; the Consul hath but twelve Axes carried before him, the Dictator twenty four : Furthermore, the Consuls cannot act in many things without the Authority of the Senate ; but the Power of the Dictator is absolute and independent ; and, during that Magistracy, the Authority of all others become superseded, that of the Tribunes of the People only excepted. But we shall treat more particularly hereof in its proper place. After *Fabius* had been nam'd for Dictator, he chose *M. Minutius* for his Master of the Horse, which is a Charge depending intirely on the Dictator, and supplies his place in the Army when absent.

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Hannibal, after he had refresh'd his Army, mov'd by easie marches along the Coast of the *Adriatick*, thereby to gain time till he had fill'd his Troops; here, by washing his Horses with old Wine, whereof the Country abounded, he cur'd them of the Scratches and the Farcy. Neither did he omit any care for the cure and recovery of his wounded Men, by which means the rest were hearten'd. and became the more chearfully dispos'd to go on such future hazardous Services, as he should have further occasion to use them in. Thus he continu'd his March, and after he had plunder'd and forag'd the Territory of *Pretutium*, *Adria*, and that of the *Marrucians*, and *Ferentines*, he took his way towards *Apulia*, which is distinguish'd by three Divisions, each having its peculiar name. One part is inhabited by the *Dannians*, and another by the *Messapians*. *Hannibal* first attack'd the *Dannians*, and made spoil about *Luceria*, a Colony of the *Romans*, where he put all to Fire and Sword. Then he encamp'd near *Ibona*, from whence he sent his Troops to ravage the Lands of the *Arpians*; and, in short, over-ran the whole Country of *Apulia*.

About this time *Fabius* enter'd on his Charge, who, after he had sacrific'd to the Gods, march'd out of the City with his Master of the Horse, at the head of four new-raisd Legions, which had been levied according

ding to Custom. And, after he had joyn'd his Troops near the Frontiers of the *Daunians*, with those that had been sent to *Rimini*, he sent the Consul back to *Rome*, with Orders to Command the Fleet, and have an Eye to the Enemies Motions by Sea; while himself and the General of the Horse, after he had taken possession of the Legions, march'd and encamp'd near *Ægas*, in view of the Enemy, and not above six Miles from their Camp.

The *Carthaginian*, as soon as he had notice of the arrival of *Fabius*, led his Army out of the Camp, and marching, drew them up in Battalia near the *Romans*, to amuse and terrifie them: Where having remain'd some time, and none appearing to oppose him, he march'd back to his Quarters. For *Fabius*, who had determin'd to do nothing rashly, and not to come presently to a Battel, but to labour by all Arts and Means to secure the Interest of his Country, held firm to his first Resolurion. By which means he soon grew into Contempt, was reckon'd a Coward by his Country-men, and one who out of poorness of Spirit shun'd all occasions of having to do with the Enemy. But in the end his Actions taught them better how to value him; and to confess, That they could never have chosen a Leader, who better knew his Business, or could proceed with more Judgment and good Conduct, which shortly after, the issue of his Administration abundantly

manifested. *Hannibal's* Troops who had been bred and broken to their Trade from their Childhood, and he himself brought up among them, and a perfect Master in Military Knowledge, who had fought many Battels with Success in *Spain*, and gain'd two important Victories already against the *Romans* and their Allies: And what out-weigh'd all we have said, and which to him was of greatest importance, was that his Troops had no hopes or prospect of Safety, but what they carry'd on the Points of their Swords; which was *Fabius's* Motive to work with so much Caution and Circumspection, being well assur'd the Enemy would be superiour to him in Battel. Wherefore, by singular Prudence and Address, he had recourse only to those Advantages, wherein he was sure the *Romans* were the stronger.

In a word, the Benefits the *Romans* enjoy'd, and of which the Enemy could not deprive them, were Provisions of Victuals, and Stores of War in great abundance, and plenty of good Men to recruit their Armies. *Fabius* therefore held on his March in the Enemies Rear, and kept always near him, ever encamping on proper Ground for his purpose, which he very well knew how to chuse, having a perfect knowledge of the Country: And being supply'd from the places behind him with what he stood in need of, he never adventur'd his Soldiers abroad to Forrage,
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nor permitted them so much as to be seen out of the Camp. Wherefore being enclos'd continually within their Ramparts, and perpetually on the watch to spy any advantage, by that means he surpriz'd and cut off great numbers of the Enemy, who chanc'd to straggle any distance from their Camp, or who, out of contempt of the *Romans*, forrag'd near them. By this means he diminish'd his Enemies numbers, and bred Courage and Assurance in his own Soldiers; and by these little Combats and Rencounters, taught them to recover their Spirits, which were much sunk by their late Calamities, whereby those who had been hitherto vanquish'd, might begin not to despair of Victory. But nothing could draw him to come to a pitch'd Field. While, on the other hand, *Minutius*, his Master of the Horse, was neither of his Judgment nor Humor. For he leaning constantly to the Opinion of the Multitude, made a little too bold with the Dictator in his Discourse, representing him as a slow and bashful Man, while he, for his part, was of another Temper, ready to enterprize any thing, and willing to come speedily to a Battel. After the *Carthaginians* had wasted the Country round about, as we but now mention'd, they pass'd the *Apenines*, and enter'd into the Territory of the *Sannites*, a fertile Soil, and where for a long time they had felt nothing of the desolations of War.

Here they met with such abundance of all things, that it was not possible for them to consume the store, either by their Expence or their Malice. They plunder'd likewise the Lands of the *Beneventines*, where there was a Colony of *Romans*, and took the City of *Vendisa*, albeit a strong Town and furnish'd for defence. In the mean time the *Romans* follow'd their steps, keeping within a Days march or two at most of them, but approach'd not nearer, being in no wise dispos'd to come to a Battel. Whereupon, when *Hannibal* found that *Fabius* would not be perswaded to fight, he resolv'd to take his march towards *Falernum*, a Town in the Territory of *Capua*; concluding that one of these two things would thereby be brought to pass; namely, that either he should compel the Enemy to give him Battel; or, in case of refusal, it would be made manifest to all the World he was their superior, and that the *Romans* wanted Resolution to come to a Decision. And by this means he reckon'd that the Towns and Cities would be terrify'd into submission, and to abandon the *Romans*. For, notwithstanding *Hannibal's* two Victories, there was not yet one *Italian* Town that had taken part with him, but preserv'd their Faith entire to the *Romans*, tho' some were hard press'd and streighten'd by the Enemy; from whence may be gather'd what deference and veneration they had for the *Roman* Government.

ment. Nor did *Hannibal* take this Resolution rashly, and without ripe Deliberation; for the Champaign Country about *Capua* is the best part of the richest and most beautiful Soil in the World. Furthermore, it borders on the Sea by which *Italy* holds intercourse with all Foreign Countries. Over and above these Incouragements, the noblest and most beautiful Towns of all *Italy* are found here; namely (on the Sea-Coast) *Sinuessa*, *Cuma*, *Puz- zola*, *Naples*, and *Nuceria*; On the Frontiers, towards the West, *Calenum* and *Theano*; towards the South-East, *Apulia* and *Nola*. *Capua* is situate in the heart of the Country, and surpass'd heretofore in Riches and Luxury all other Cities; so much like the Truth are the Fables that are recorded of this delicious Territory, known likewise by the name of the *Phlegræan*-Fields, with those sam'd in *Greece* for their Beauty and Amœnity. In short, it may be said, That it was principally for this happy Country, that the Gods once contended. Furthermore, this Country is fortify'd by Nature, and the Accesses to it difficult: For on the one hand it is defended by the Sea, and on the other by a Chain of continu'd Mountains. In a word, there are but three Avenues to it, and these very streight and difficult over the said Mountains. The first is that which leads to *Samnium*; the second to *Eribanus*; and the third from the Country of the *Hirpines*. Wherefore the *Car-*

thaginian was not without hopes, that if he could compass the Conquest of this part of *Italy*, he should be able from thence to awe all the World beside, and bring a Contempt on his sluggish Enemy, who had not the Courage to forbid him; and that no body would then doubt, but he was in effect Master of all without the *Roman* Retrenchments.

Hannibal wrought on by these Reasons, having left *Samnium*, and gain'd his passage by the way of the Mountain call'd *Eribanus*, he encamp'd on the Banks of the River *Athurnus*, which divides and runs through that part of *Campania* that regards *Italy*; and from hence forag'd and made Devastations in the Country round about, none appearing to impeach him, while *Fabius*, tho' wondring at the temerity of his Project, held the faster to his first Determination. But *Minutius*, on the contrary, and the rest of the prime Officers of the Army, perswaded they had now coop'd-up the Enemy, became very instant that they might hasten their march into *Campania*; and that it was not to be supported, that *Hannibal* should, without controul, pillage and destroy the best and most flourishing part of *Italy*. Whereupon *Fabius* made shew of being reason'd into their Opinion, and feign'd to be as forward to find out the Enemy and give him Battel as they were, till he had got into the Country, whither he march'd
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the Army with great expedition. But when he drew near the Territory of the *Falernians*, he contented himself with barely making an appearance with his Army along the Mountains, and to keep pace with the Enemy, fearing lest their Allies should think that the *Romans*, out of dread of the *Carthaginian* Army, confin'd themselves entirely to their Camp. Nevertheless, he adventur'd not into the plain Country, but continu'd to shun all occasions of coming to a Battel, for the Reasons already render'd, and for that the *Carthaginians* much out-number'd them in Horse. Wherefore, after *Hannibal* had challeng'd the *Romans* by all sorts of Provocations and Indignities, plunder'd all *Campania*, and amass'd a mighty Booty, he began to consult about decamping, resolving by no means to part with his Spoil, but to convey it to some safe place, where he should keep his Winter-Quarters; to the end his Army might not only have a present enjoyment of the fruit of their Travail, but a prospect of plenty of every good thing for the time to come. *Fabius* then collecting, that the Enemy had a mind to return by the way he came, concluded to waylay him by an Ambush in the Defile or Pass over the Mountains. He therefore order'd a Detachment of four Thousand Men, to advance and take possession of the said Pass, exhorting them to make good use of the occasion, and the advantage of the Post, when

they came to the Engagement, which they so earnestly and so long desired to see. This done, he march'd himself with the Gross of the Army, and possess'd the Mountains that commanded the said Passage by which the Enemy was to march.

And now the *Carthaginians* advancing, encamp'd at the foot of the Mountains, while *Fabius* was not in hopes only of making them part with their Plunder; but that if Fortune prov'd never so little his Friend, to be able at one stroke to, put a period to the War. Thus favour'd as he was by the advantage of the Ground, *Fabius* then had nothing so much in his Thoughts, as how best to post and distribute his Troops; to lay his Ambush with most advantage; whom principally to make choice of for their several Parts they were to execute, and where first to begin the Attack. But while he thus stood deliberating, deferring the execution to the next Morning, *Hannibal*, who had got intelligence of his Design, gave him not time to put it in effect. First then, he gave his Orders to *Asdrubal* (who had the general charge of the Pioneers and Workmen of the Army) to provide as many Faggots of dry combustible Matter as he possibly could procure; to make choice of two Thousand of the best and strongest Oxen, as could be pick'd out of the whole Herd of Plunder, and to bring them to a certain place near the Camp, there to attend his further

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Commands: This done, he caus'd the Grooms and Rabble of the Army to be assembled, and pointing to them a piece of Ground at a distance, that lay between the Camp and the Pass by which he was to march, order'd them, That as soon as they should receive the Signal that should be given, to drive and force the said Herd of Cattel by that way up to the top of the Mountains. This done, he had the Army to take their Supper, and retire to their repose; and about the third Watch of the Night, he commanded the said Rabble to bind, and fasten the Faggots they had provided, to the Horns of the two Thousand Oxen. This being soon done, by reason of the great number of Hands that were employ'd, he then ordering the Faggots to be lighted, gave them the Signal to march, and drive them up as he had appointed. He order'd likewise his light-arm'd Troops to march in the Rear of these, and a while to encourage and sustain them; but that as soon as the Cattel began to run and disperse, they should with shoutings and great clamour take possession of all the advantageous Posts, and gain the top of the Mountains, to the end thereby to cover and defend the Army in their passage through the Defile, and amuse and divert the Enemy, in case they found them there. In the mean time *Hannibal* decamps, leading his Army towards the Streight by which they were to march. The Van-guard
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consisted of his heavy-arm'd Troops ; these were follow'd by the Horse ; after them went the Baggage and Booty, and the *Spaniards* and *Gauls* in the Rear of all.

The *Romans*, who had been posted at the entry of the Pass, beholding so many Fires wandring about the Mountains, took it for granted, that *Hannibal* had taken his March that way : Whereupon quitting their Posts in the Streight, they march'd with expedition up the Mountains ; but when they arriv'd, and saw nothing but the Cattel carrying Fire on their Heads, they grew greatly astonish'd, and were struck with greater apprehension of Danger than they needed. But now beholding *Hannibal* on his March, who had already gain'd the Pass, they made some small attempt upon them ; but the Cattel carrying Fire on their Heads, covering the Mountain, and mingling every-where among them, so distracted them, that they concluded it to be their safest course to keep the tops of the Hills, and remain there on their guard till Morning, when they might be better able to discern what it was that had so perplex'd them.

In the mean time, *Fabius* was in trouble to understand the mystery of so many Fires, and began to suspect it to be no other than what it really was, namely, a *Carthaginian* Stratagem. Nevertheless, mindful of the Resolution he had taken to hazard nothing, he kept

kept his Army within their Works, and resolv'd not to stir till Morning; while *Hannibal*, observing that his Project succeeded to his wish, and that the Defile remain'd totally unguarded, pass'd safely with his Army and his Plunder. But early in the Morning, observing that the Party which had advanc'd to the tops of the Mountains, were in danger, the *Romans*, who had march'd thither in the Night, out-numbring them; he therefore sent a Party of *Spaniards* to sustain and bring them off; who, falling on the *Romans*, slew about a Thousand of them, and with difficulty made good their Companions retreat.

Hannibal having now gain'd his passage out of the Territory of *Falernum*, and seeing himself in safety, began to consider upon Winter-Quarters, and deliberated thereof among his Friends: For he had now so terrify'd *Italy* throughout all Quarters, that the whole Country stood astonish'd and undetermin'd what Counsels to take; insomuch, that *Fabius* was held in great Contempt, as having, through want of Resolution, permitted the Enemy to make his escape, when he had enclos'd him in places of so great advantage; yet all could not move him a jot to depart from the Methods he had propos'd to pursue, contemning all those vain Reports, and the Opinion which the People had conceiv'd of him.

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Sometime after *Fabius* being call'd to *Rome*, to officiate at their Sacrifices, he committed the Legions to the Conduct of *Minutius*, in-joyning him above all things at his departure, to have a more vigilant Eye to the Preservation of the Army, than how to Attack the Enemy. But *Minutius* was so deaf to his Advice, that even while *Fabius* was urging those safe Counsels, he was meditating how by all means possible he might bring it about to give the Enemy Battel. This was the posture of Affairs in *Italy*, while *Asdrubal* at the head of an Army in *Spain*, having equipp'd a Fleet of thirty Vessels (during the Winter) which had been left him by his Brother, and adding to them ten more, with all their Equipage that had been sent him from other parts, he departed in the beginning of Summer from *New-Carthage*; his Fleet, consisting of forty Ships, he committed to the care of *Hamilear*, with Orders to coast it along the Shore, while he with his Land-Army march'd at the same time, keeping near the Sea, with intention to joyn both Armies near the mouth of the River *Eber*. *Cn. Scipio* coming to the knowledge of the *Carthaginians* purpose, determin'd forthwith to march out of his Winter-quarters, and endeavour to get before them. But, after he had been inform'd of their great Strength, both in numbers of Men, and all sorts of provision of War, he declin'd his Purpose of dealing with them by Land, and equipp'd a

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Naval Army, consisting of five and thirty Ships, and putting on Board the best Men of the Land Army, made Sail and got before the Enemy. Two Days after his departure from *Tarragona* he arriv'd near the mouth of the *Eber*, and about ten Miles from the *Carthaginian* Fleet; from whence he dispatch'd two Scout-Vessels of *Marseilles*, to discover the Motions and Intentions of the Enemy; these Vessels were the foremost in all Dangers, and kept always a head of the Fleet, with a forwardness that prov'd very useful to the *Romans*. For the *Marseillians* had always taken part with the *Romans*, and espous'd their Cause more conspicuously in this Adventure. The Scouts that had been sent out brought advice, that the Enemies Fleet was at an Anchor in the mouth of the *Eber*: Whereupon *Scipio* forthwith got under Sail, resolving to make the best of his way to surprize them, as they lay.

But *Asdrubal* receiving timely notice of the Enemies approach by certain Beacons that he order'd to be provided on the Hills, put his Land Forces in order of Battel on the Shore, and order'd the Marine Army forthwith to imbark. As the *Romans* drew near the Enemy, they caus'd their Trumpets to sound, and came to Blows with them out of hand. But the *Carthaginians*, after they had stubbornly disputed the Victory for a while, at length began to retire. But their Land-Army

my that was drawn up on the Shore, prov'd as it fortun'd rather a Mischief than a Benefit, by how much their presence so near at hand gave the Sea-men a more certain prospect of Safety by flight, than by fighting; wherefore, perceiving the *Romans* likely to prove superior to them, they stood about and fled as fast as they could toward the Shore, after they had sustain'd the loss both of Men and Gallies. But the *Romans* vigorously pursuing the Advantage, forc'd them at last quite ashore, where deserting their Vessels, they sav'd themselves by escaping to their Land-Forces that were drawn up hard by; the *Romans* following them to the Shore, and taking as many of their Vessels as they could carry off, well-pleas'd to have beaten the Enemy at their first essay, taking thirty five of their Vessels, and making themselves Masters of those Seas. After this Victory the Affairs of the *Romans* began to have a better face in those Parts.

In the mean time the *Carthaginians* receiving Intelligence of this loss, fitted out a Fleet with all Expedition, consisting of seventy Sail equipp'd for War, well knowing of what moment it was to them to preserve their Dominion of the Sea. This Fleet first touch'd in *Sardinia*, and then call'd at *Pisa* in *Italy*, hoping they might have found *Hannibal*, to have consulted and concerted Matters with him. But the *Romans* coming after them
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with a Fleet of an hundred and twenty Sail of Gallies, the *Carthaginians* terrify'd with their numbers return'd directly back to *Sardinia*, and from thence to *Carthage*. *Cn. Servilius*, General of the *Roman* Fleet, made chase after them for a while, in hopes of coming to an Engagement, but finding they had got too much the start of him, he left off the pursuit. Then he made Sail for *Lilybæum* with the whole Fleet; from thence he steer'd his course to a certain Island in the *African* Sea call'd *Cercina*, where he levy'd Money on the Inhabitants, to purchase exemption of their Country from Plunder. From thence he held on his way and came to an Island call'd *Cossyrus*, which he took, and after he had put a Garrison into the Town, he return'd back to *Lilybæum*, where, leaving the Fleet in Harbour he went himself to find out their Land-Forces.

The Senate of *Rome* receiving Intelligence of *Scipio's* Sea-Victory, concluded that it was not only convenient, but necessary to the Common-wealth, that they should not neglect their Affairs in *Spain*; wherefore to quicken the War on that side, and press the *Carthaginians* the more in these Parts, they fitted out a Squadron of twenty Gallies, and forthwith gave them into the Charge of *Pub. Scipio*, dispatching him to his Brother, to the end they might jointly manage the War in *Spain*. For the Senate justly apprehended, that if
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the *Carthaginians* should once be permitted to conquer and possess at their pleasure that Province, they would soon recover their Dominion of the Sea, attack and make Descents in *Italy* with ease, and be enabled to re-inforce and supply *Hannibal* both with Men and Money. Wherefore, I say, the *Romans*, concluding that keeping the War on foot in *Spain* was of great utility to their Affairs, dispatch'd *Pub. Scipio* with a Naval Army to joyn his Brother; who, after his Arrival, when they came to unite their Strength, proceeded with great Success. For albeit the *Romans* had never yet attempted to pass the *Eber*, but thought it a great deal for them, that the People on this side the River were dispos'd to enter into Friendship and Confederacy with them; yet now they adventur'd to pass those Bounds, making War on remoter Nations, and Fortune approv'd their Enterprize: For, after they had terrify'd the People that inhabit on the Banks of the *Eber*, they advanc'd toward *Saguntum*, and encamp'd within five Miles thereof, in the neighbourhood of the Temple of *Venus*, and so posted themselves, that they were every way cover'd from Attempts of an Enemy, and where whatever they wanted might with ease be supply'd them, for their Fleet by Sea kept pace with them on Land, coasting it along the Shore at the same rate they march'd.

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But in the mean time there happen'd an occurrence which avail'd further toward the Prosperity of the *Roman* Affairs. Upon *Hannibal's* departure on his Expedition to *Italy*, he took Hostages of all the Towns of whose Affection he was not well assur'd; making choice for that purpose of the Children of the principal Inhabitants, and sending them to be carefully kept under a good Guard at *Saguntum*; that place being not only well fortify'd, but the Garrison he had left in it well dispos'd to his Service. Among those there was one *Abilyx* a *Spaniard*, a Man of the first Rank in his Country, both for his Authority and Manners; and, above all, reckon'd among the most faithful Friends of the *Carthaginians*. This Man, taking the present posture of Affairs into Consideration, and observing the *Romans* likely to prosper, took a Resolution worthy of a *Spaniard* and a *Barbarian*, which was to bring it about that the said Hostages might be deliver'd up; believing that by compassing some remarkable Service to the *Romans*, he should become very Popular, and be well receiv'd among them.

Asdrubal had committed the Government of that Province to *Bostar*, a Man of Authority among the *Carthaginians*, with Orders to oppose the *Romans*, when at any time they should attempt passing the River *Eber*; but he, wanting Resolution to withstand them, had retir'd from his Post, and march'd and

encamp'd near *Saguntum* towards the Sea. Now *Abilyx* well knew, that *Bostar* was a plain well-meaning Man, of easie Faith, unpractis'd in subtile Arts, and had a good Opinion of him : He therefore imparts to him what he feign'd was the best Counsel he could take ; namely, that since the *Romans* had now gain'd their passage over the River, the *Carthaginians* would be no longer able to hold the *Spaniards* in subjection by fear ; but that it import'd them, in the present evil Conjunction of their Affairs, to acquire by some extraordinary means the Affection and Goodwill of the Natives : That the *Romans* were already under the Walls of *Saguntum*, which was in a manner besieg'd, and would be soon streightned : That therefore if he would give a check to their Ambition and Success, he could not take a wiser or more safe course, than presently to resolve on the restoring all the Hostages to their Parents and Relations : For that the Enemy coveted nothing with more passion, than to be able to get them into their hands ; to the end, that by delivering them up, they might acquire and conciliate thereby the good Opinion of the *Spaniards* : That, in a word, it would be an act of great Wisdom in him to obviate this Inconvenience, by restoring the Hostages himself, which would bind the *Spaniards* to him for ever ; and that he, for his part, would labour his utmost, that the *Carthaginians* might

might reap the best fruit of so fair a proceeding, if they should think fit to commit the Conduct thereof to his management: For if it were transacted by him, he should be both able and willing to negotiate the Affair, with such regard to the Interest of the *Carthaginians*, in the respective Towns concern'd, that their Relations should not only be made sensible of the Benefit, but the People in general dispos'd to acknowledge their Good-will, when they beheld such remarkable Instances of the *Carthaginians* Friendship. He likewise gave *Bostar* himself hopes of a valuable Reward, from those whose Children should be so deliver'd; and that, in short, by his restoring in so generous a manner, and contrary to all expectation, what was so dear to them, every one would emulate the other in their Expressions of Gratitude to such a Benefactor. In a word, he dealt with *Bostar* by all the fair Arguments he was able to urge, to win him over to his purpose. After this Conference, matters being concluded between them, and a Day set when he should return with all necessary Preparations to receive and conduct the Hostages, *Abilyx* return'd home. The following Night he went to the *Roman* Camp, where after some Discourse with certain *Spaniards* that serv'd in the Army, he was by them conducted to the *Scipio's*; to whom he made it appear by many Reasons, That the whole Body of the *Spaniards* would come in

to them, were it but once known that their Hostages were in their Possession; and there-upon gave them his Word to deliver them into their hands. *Publius* list'ned with great pleasure to the Proposition; and after solemn promise of a noble Recompence, and the time when, and the place where they should attend to execute the Design, agreed on, he dismiss'd them, who return'd back to *Saguntum*. And now *Abilyx*, having provided Persons proper for his Enterprize, came to *Bostar*; and after the Hostages were put into his hands, he departed by Night from *Saguntum*, as feigning thereby to be able to go more conceal'd from the Enemy's Sentinels. But having pass'd their Camp, he then took another way, and led them at the time agreed on, to the place appointed, where he deliver'd them to those who had been order'd to take charge of them. This was so great an Instance of *Abilyx*'s Good-will to the *Romans*, that *Scipio* held him ever after in great esteem, making use of him in conjunction with People of his own, to see the Hostages restor'd to their Parents and their Country: who went accordingly from Town to Town; where he negotiated so well for the *Romans*, giving the People such Impressions of their Generosity and Humanity, and declaiming so justly against the *Carthaginians* Cruelty and Infidelity, and producing himself as an Example of deserting them, that he wrought many

many Towns over to the *Romans*, who enter'd into Confederacy with them. *Bostar*, who had committed these Children to the Faith of *Abilyx*, acted a very Child's Part himself, and not like an Officer of his Age and Experience, becoming afterwards thereby liable to many and great Dangers. But forasmuch as the Season of the Year forbid any further present action, they withdrew on both sides into Winter-Quarters. Afterwards the *Romans* (Fortune changing in favour of their Affairs) receiv'd manifold Advantages by means of the Hostages they had so given up, being thereby greatly assisted in their future Enterprizes. Thus have we deliver'd a state of the Occurrences in *Spain*.

But to return to our History of *Hannibal*: He receiving intelligence by his Spies, That there was much Corn at *Luceria* and *Gerunium*, and that *Gerunium* was a commodious place wherein to make his Magazines; thereupon resolv'd to make that Country his Winter-Quarters, and so lead his Army by the way of the Mountains of *Liburnum*, to the said Towns. When he arriv'd at *Gerunium*, which stands about twenty five Miles from *Luceria*, he sought by all fair Means and large Promises, to win them to take part with the *Carthaginians*, offering to bind himself by Oath to the punctual execution of the Conditions that should be accorded to. But seeing he could not so prevail, he sat down be-

fore the Town; and laying siege to it soon took it, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, reserving the greatest part of the Buildings undemolish'd, whereof to make Granaries; and lodging his Troops under the Walls, fortify'd his Camp with a good Retrenchment. From thence he sent two third parts of his Army to gather in Corn, ordering them by turns to supply daily the other third part that remain'd with him, with a certain quantity for their Expence, he continuing with them constantly in Battalia, as well for the guard of the Camp, as to prevent any sudden attempt on those who were employ'd in gathering in the Corn. In short, the Country being very fertile, and the time of Harvest at the height, they daily brought in very great quantities.

As soon as *Minutius* had receiv'd the Command of the Army from *Fabius*, as we noted, he lost no time, but march'd by the tops of the Mountains to find out the Enemy, hoping for an occasion to deal with *Hannibal* there. But when he came to understand, That he was already Master of *Gerunium*; that the *Carthaginians* were spread all over the Country gathering in Corn, and that the Army was encamp'd under the Walls of the Town, he forthwith descended from the Hills into the Champaign Country, and encamp'd in the Territory of *Larinum*, on a high Ground call'd *Calela*, with a full determination

tion to do his utmost to come by any means speedily to a Battel. *Hannibal* having notice of the approach of the *Romans*, permitted only one part of his Army to pursue their Harvest-work, while he with the other two thirds advanc'd toward the Enemy, posting himself on an Eminence about two Miles distant from *Gerunium*, to try if he could from thence awe them, and also to be in a better Post to succour his Foragers, in case they should chance to be press'd. But there happening to be a piece of high Ground between the two Armies, which commanded near the *Roman* Camp, he sent thither in the Night two Thousand of his light-arm'd Troops to take possession thereof. This being observ'd in the Morning by *Minutius*, he immediately order'd out his light-arm'd Soldiers likewise against them, who attack'd them in their Post. The Dispute was very warm for a while; but in the end the *Romans* prevail'd; and dislodging the Enemy, came and posted themselves there.

Hannibal after this, remain'd quiet in his Camp for some Days with all his Troops, for that they had the *Romans* now so near Neighbours; but after a while he was necessitated to send abroad for Forage for his Horse, and to fetch in Corn for the supply of his Camp; for that he was unwilling not only to spend out of the Store they had laid up, but solicitous to add to what they had already ga-

ther'd, to the end they might live in plenty during Winter, both Horse and Man, placing his greatest hopes of success in the Service of his Horse.

In the mean time *Minutius*, being inform'd that the Enemy was abroad in great numbers, dispers'd here and there about the Country, for the Services above-mention'd, order'd his Troops to march at an Hour he thought most proper; and, being not far from the Enemies Camp, drew up his Army in Battalia, and ordering his Horse and light-arm'd Troops to be drawn up in Parties and small Divisions, commanded them to march and attack the Foragers, and to give no Quarter. This Action did not a little perplex *Hannibal*, who had not then Strength enough at hand to make head against the Enemy, nor to succour those who were scatter'd stragling about the Country.

Those of the *Romans*, who were commanded out against the Foragers, kill'd many as they found them wandering to and again; and those, who stood drawn up in Battalia, began so to contemn the *Carthaginians*, that not satisfy'd to confine them to their Camp, they were hardly with-held from attempting their Works; insomuch that *Hannibal* seem'd to be greatly streightned: Yet albeit he was reduc'd to that extremity, that it was all he could do to keep his Ground and defend the Camp, yet he deserted not his Post. In short,
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Asdrubal receiving those into the Camp under the Walls of *Gerunium*, that had escap'd thither from the Enemy, march'd at the head of four Thousand Men to the relief of *Hannibal*, who, being now in some sort re-inforc'd, advanc'd against the *Romans*, and stood some time in Battalia, not far distant from their Camp, so that in the end he came fairly off of the Danger that threaten'd him, tho' with difficulty enough; but, in a word, he came off. *Minutius* having slain many of the Enemy in this Rencounter, and more of the Foragers, retir'd to his Camp full of assurance of future Success; and on the Morrow, upon the *Carthaginians* marching out of their Works, he follow'd them and took possession of their Camp: For *Fiannibal* fearful lest the *Romans* should by surprize in the Night attempt and assault his Camp at *Gerunium*, which was not in a very good state of Defence, and might thereby become Masters of their Baggage, their Plunder, and all the Stores they had there laid up, was therefore determin'd to return and abide in those Quarters. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* forag'd for the future with more caution, and the *Romans* manifested less apprehension of the Enemy.

The news of this Action being brought to *Rome*, and publish'd with more Vanity than Truth, there was great Joy in the City. For, after the Consternation they had been in, they

they reckon'd it a Change greatly for the better, and as an Omen of their future good Fortune ; and, that if their Armies had not of a long time perform'd any thing to the purpose, it was not at least through the Cowardice of the Soldiers, but the pusillanimity of the Dictator, who apprehended every thing. So that all the World began now to reproach *Fabius*, and blame his Conduct, for having lost so many fair occasions plainly through want of Resolution. But they heap'd so many Praises on *Minutius*, that in the end they decreed him an Honour that was without any example in the Republick. For they invested him with absolute Authority ; imagining that by that act, they should put it in his Power to give a speedy Period to the War ; and now by this Decree they came to have two Dictators at one and the same time to Conduct their Affairs, which never happen'd at any time before among the *Romans*. When *Minutius* came to understand how highly he was exalted in the Opinion of the People, and that they had given him full Power, he grew more determin'd and forward to attempt every thing how hazardous soever.

In the mean time *Fabius* returns to the Army, without any change of Judgment through the Injuries which had been done him ; but rather more confirm'd in the Rules he had laid down to himself ; and observing that

that *Minutius* was now become insolent, and uneasy to him, by his new Authority and Successes, and that he oppos'd him in every thing through a kind of Jealousie he had conceiv'd, and that he was likely to push Matters to a decisive Battel, he therefore put it to his choice whether they should command the Army by Days alternately, or divide the Army and command the distinct Bodies apart, and have two separate Camps, and act as each of them saw good: *Minutius* thereupon inclin'd to divide the Army, whereupon the Legions were divided, and encamp'd a-part, about a Mile and an half asunder.

Hannibal, as well by the Prisoners he had taken, as by their Proceedings, had now learn'd there was an ill understanding between the two Generals, and well knew too the Mind of *Minutius*; wherefore rightly judging that this posture of their Affairs would in the end work more Mischief to them than to him, he began to contrive how to lay Baits for *Minutius*, that he might a little restrain his Insolence and confound his Designs. And observing a small rising Ground between his and *Minutius's* Camp, by which either might incommode the other, *Hannibal* therefore resolv'd to possess it; and for that he was well assur'd, the *Roman* embolden'd by his late Success would oppose him, he therefore devis'd this Stratagem. The Country round about, near this piece of Ground, was, in truth,

truth, plain and Champaign, no part thereof seeming in any wise capable of Ambushes; but, forasmuch as in the plainest Countries there are little insensible Risings and Fallings, Turnings and Windings, Rocks and Caverns, where Men may be conceal'd, as here there was, wherefore in these places he hid five Hundred Horse, and five Thousand Foot, divided into Parties of two and three Hundred in a Division, according to the capacity of the places where they were to lodge; and to be so dispos'd that the Enemies Foragers might not discover them: This done, he order'd his light-arm'd Troops to march, and take possession of the Ground we mention'd; whereupon *Minutius*, who concluded the Enemy had given him a new occasion of Victory, orders out his light-arm'd Troops to attack them, and after these his Horse, while he himself follow'd with the gross of the Army in Battalia, keeping their Order.

The Sun was now risen, and while every Bodies Eyes were fix'd on the place of Action, *Hannibal's* Ambush riseth, and advanceth by degrees unobserv'd by the *Romans*. While *Hannibal* in the mean while was not slack to send Succours constantly to the Charge, and at length advancing himself at the head of his Horse, and the rest of the Army, the Horse on both sides came soon to ingage. Whereupon the light-arm'd *Romans*, not being a match for the *Carthaginian* Horse, were beaten,

ten, and retreated to their Body, putting them in great disorder. Hitherto the Ambush remain'd expecting the Signal to fall on, which being now given, they come boldly to the Charge, and attack the *Romans* on all sides, as well on the gross as the light-arm'd Troops, so that the dispute was very warm and bloody. And now *Fabius*, who saw how things went, and fear'd lest *Minutius* and his Army should be lost, march'd out of his Works, and came in to his relief, who was at his last stake; whereupon the *Romans*, who before were broken and disorder'd, observing his approach, took Heart and rally'd about their Ensigns, and made a stand, after their having lost many of their light-arm'd Men, and more of the best and bravest of their Legionary Soldiers. Upon the coming in of the fresh Legions that advanc'd to the Relief boldly and in firm order, *Hannibal* began to be in doubt, and therefore sounded a Retreat, and commanded his People from the Pursuit. And now all Men justly judg'd, who were engag'd in the dangers of this Action, and in a word concluded, that the *Romans* had been beaten by the rashness of *Minutius*, and that the Common-wealth had been at this time, and always heretofore, preserv'd and rescu'd through the wise and slow Temper of *Fabius*. And they were soon satisfy'd in *Rome* of the wide difference there was between the Prudence of a good General of an Army, and a rash

rash hot-headed Soldier. Wherefore the *Romans* now taught by sharp Experience, thought it Wisdom for the time to come to abide in a Body, and in one Camp, and that none was fit to be obey'd but *Fabius*. As for the *Carthaginians*, after they had made a Retrenchment between their Camp and this piece of Ground, and had Garrison'd and well Fortify'd the Post, and perform'd what was necessary to secure it from any further danger, they betook themselves to their Winter-Quarters.

And now the time for election of their Consuls at *Rome* was come, where *L. Æmilius* and *C. Terentius* were chosen, and the Dictator's Authority thereby superseded. As to the last Years Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* and *M. Regulus*, who had fill'd the place of *Flaminius*, they were invested by *Æmilius* with Pro-consular Power, and having the Camp committed to their Charge, had the entire present Conduct of the War. In the mean time *Æmilius* took care to make new Levies, after he had imparted his Counsels to the Senate, and sent Recruits likewise to fill up the Legions. Orders were also dispatch'd to *Servilius* to be careful not to ingage in a general Battel, but to exercise the Troops as often as occasion serv'd in Skirmishes and Rencontres, to acquaint the young Soldiers with Danger and their Duty, and qualifie them for more important Occasions. For they were per-

persuaded that much of their misfortune in the War hitherto, was owing to the rawness and inexperience of their Troops, who had not for the most part seen any Action of weight. The Senate likewise dispatch'd the *Prætor Posthumius* into *Gaul*, to endeavour to bring over those who had taken Arms under *Hannibal* to another Mind; furthermore, it was committed to his Care to Conduct over the Army that had winter'd at *Lilybæum*.

They likewise supply'd the *Scipio's*, who conducted the War in *Spain*, with whatsoever they could be thought to need. In a word, both Consuls and Senate acted with great attention in all things that might avail towards a vigorous prosecution of the War. As soon as *Servilius* had receiv'd the Consuls Orders, he carefully put them in execution, performing every other thing that related to his Charge; but for Occurrences, there happen'd nothing memorable enough to be related; whether it was that his Instructions were too much limited, or that the Season of the Year permitted him not to enter on any considerable Action, but little was done towards the advancement of their Affairs. What was perform'd was by Pickeering, and small and frequent Skirmishes and Rencounters, wherein the Leaders were not without their share of some Praise, acting in their Posts always with singular Temper and Prudence.

Thus

Thus then the two Armies remain'd encamp'd in view of each other all the Winter, and a good part of the Spring. But as soon as *Hannibal* saw there was Forage to be had, he decamp'd from under *Gerunium*, concluding there was nothing so advantageous for his Affairs, as to labour by all ways possible to compel the Enemy to come to a Battel. In the mean time, he besieg'd and took the Citadel of *Cannæ*, where the *Romans* had laid up their Corn and Provisions of War for the Service of the Army. The Town had been demolish'd the Year before; and having now lost the Fortrefs, with all their Provision and Stores within it, the *Roman* Army became greatly streighten'd; and were not only press'd through want of Provisions, which they could not now obtain but with great difficulty, the Enemy being possess'd of their Magazine; but also because the Fortrefs of *Cannæ* commanded the whole Country round about.

They therefore dispatch'd Messenger on Messenger to *Rome*, for Instructions how to comport themselves; letting them understand, That if the Enemy approach'd and press'd them, there would be no means left to avoid coming to a Battel; and that the Country being every-where wasted and destroy'd, their Allies began to grow jealous of their Safety, and seem'd only at present to stand in a sort of doubtful Neutrality, to take their measures as the success of a Battel should determine them.

them. Whereupon the Senate came to a Resolution that they should give the Enemy Battel: Howbeit, they admonish'd *Cneius* to deferr it, if possible, to the coming of the Consuls, whom they now dispatch'd away. All People's Eyes were now on *Æmilius*, their Hopes being in him, as well on account of his Vertue, as for that he had not long before conducted the War in *Illyria*, much to the Honour of the Republick. It was decreed, That the *Roman* Army should consist of eight Legions; which was what the People of *Rome* had never before done; and that each Legion should consist of five Thousand, over and above the Succours of the Confederates. For, as we have hitherto observ'd, the *Roman* Custom was to march out every Year with four Legions, each containing four Thousand Foot, and two Hundred Horse; but now that they were thus threaten'd, they thought fit to compose their Legions of five Thousand Foot, and three Hundred Horse, to which was added an equal number of *Latin* Auxiliary Foot, and for the most part thrice the number of Horse. It was the custom to assign to each Consul the one half of these Auxiliary Troops, with two Legions, when they march'd on any Expedition; but they seldom employ'd more than one of their Consuls to manage any one War, with two Legions and the Auxiliaries, as we have observ'd; and but very rarely it happen'd, that the *Romans* were driven to em-

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ploy all their Forces to finish any one War. Nevertheless, they were now so terrify'd, that they conceiv'd eight Legions to be little enough.

After the Senate then had exhorted *Æmilius* to comport himself in that occasion as became the Majesty of the Common-wealth, and had remonstrated to him of what mighty importance a Battel at that conjuncture was, they dismiss'd him. As soon as the Consuls arriv'd at their Camp, they caus'd the Army to be drawn together, imparting to them the Pleasure of the Senate, and exhorting them to behave themselves as became them. It was *Æmilius* who spoke to them; whose Discourse principally tended to Apologize for past Failures; for the Soldiers had been so dispirited by so many calamitous Adventures, that they stood in need enough of good Admonition. He therefore did his best to persuade them, That if they had been vanquish'd in former Occasions, it was not one or two, but manifold Reasons that might be render'd for their Misfortunes; but that now if they had the Hearts of *Romans*, there was not one which he could foresee, that might debarr them of Victory, and triumphing over their Enemy: That their two Consuls never were join'd before, to conduct their Affairs with their joint Legions, all assembled in one Body: That the Soldiers till now were not fit for Service, the State being serv'd by an Army
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of Novices, raw and untrain'd to their Business, and unus'd to the Toils and Perils of War; and what was of greater moment, t^hey had to do with a strange Enemy, whom they had hardly ever seen, before they came to engage with him: That, in short, those who had been defeated near the River *Trebia*, were hurry'd to a Battel, within two Days after their arrival from a wearisome Voyage from *Sicily*: That the others, who lost the Day in *Tuscany*, did not so much as see the Enemy that beat them; not only before the Battel, but during the Action it self, the Mist and Darkness so hid them; but that now at this time, there was not room to alledge one of these Reasons: For first, they had with them both the Consuls, who were not only themselves equally expos'd to the Dangers with them; but they had so prevail'd, that the last Year's Consuls themselves, whose Magistracy was now expir'd, did not refuse to stay and partake the Fortune of the Battel: That as to the Soldiers, they had now had time to acquaint themselves with the Enemy, their Arms, Order, Numbers, and manner of Fighting, it having been near two Years that they had been in continual action against them; so that Circumstances being totally chang'd from what they were, they ought likewise to expect a change of Fortune. And further, That it was not to be doubted, nor scarce possible to come to pass, that having van-

quish'd the Enemy in so many late Combats and Rencounters, without any odds in their numbers, they should fail of Victory in a Battel, while they were to fight with an Army surmounting the Carthaginians by at least one half. *In a word (Fellow-Soldiers, says the Consul) since every thing seems to promise Victory, it only rests that you should carry your Hearts with you into the Field, and a Determination to Vanquish; and yet when I have said all, it is not you that stand in need of Exhortation; such Methods are only proper for Mercenaries, who fight meerly for Pay, or Allies who are constrain'd by Stipulations to hazard themselves for their Confederates, and without any prospect of bettering their Fortune, let the Success happen which way it will: But you who come not into the Field to fight a foreign Cause, but for your selves, your Country, your Wives and Children, who are at present in a doubtful case through the many Dangers that threaten them, and whose Condition the Success of a Battel will greatly change: You (I say) need but only to be minded, not admonish'd of these things: For who is he among you, who had not rather vanquish by Fighting, or otherwise die in the Dispute, than lead a wretched Life, beholding these dearest Pledges I nam'd, a Prey to a merciless Enemy. In a word then, resolve without Incitements from any thing I can utter, and take Counsel from your own Reflections, of the difference between*
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the Vanquish'd and the Victor, what Recompences you are to hope, and what Calamities to fear : And draw your Swords inspir'd with such Thoughts, and bear in mind that you fight not now only for the Honour and Preservation of an Army, but for your Country and the Roman Empire ; and in such case, what use can there be of Persuasions ? If you fight unsuccessfully, and chance to be Vanquish'd, your Country will be left wholly without Succour ; she hath deposited all her Strength in your hands, all her Power, all her Hopes of Safety ; you will do well therefore, Fellow-Soldiers, to determine not to violate so great a Trust, in an Occasion of such mighty moment ; act then correspondent to such an Obligation, and express your Gratitude as becomes you. In a word, behave your selves so, that it may appear to the whole World, that if heretofore the Commonwealth hath sustain'd Damage and Reproach, it was not because the Roman Vertue gave place to the Carthaginian, but meerly to be attributed to the Inexperience of our Armies in those times, unlucky Conjunctions, and ill choice of Ground to fight in. After this Discourse, and others of the like Contents, to animate the Soldiers, he dismiss'd the Assembly.

The next Day the Consuls march'd the Army toward the Enemy, and the Day after came within six Miles of their Camp. *Æmilius*, who observ'd the Country to be all plain and champaign Ground, declar'd his Opinion

against coming there to a Battel, forasmuch as the Enemy much over-match'd them in Horse, and that it therefore concern'd them to draw the *Carthaginians*, if possible, into such Ground as gave the advantage to Foot ; but, in regard *Terentius*, who knew no better, would not be won to his Opinion, it came to pass, which seldom fails in Military Affairs, that the two Leaders fell at variance.

The next Day then, when *Terentius* had the Command, (for it is the Custom of the People of *Rome*, for the Consuls to Command in their turns) decamp'd the Army much against *Æmilius's* liking, and advanc'd toward the Enemy. Whereupon *Hannibal*, seeing them approach, mov'd toward them with his light-arm'd Troops, and his Horse, and boldly attack'd them : But the *Romans* sustain'd the first shock by mingling some of their heavy-arm'd Troops among their light-arm'd Soldiers, and re-inforc'd these with their Archers and their Horse, and in the end had the better of the Dispute. The reason whereof was, that the Body of the *Carthaginian* Troops did little or nothing to sustain those that fought, while the *Romans* had mingled, I say, certain *Cohorts* with their light-arm'd Soldiers, who fought at the same time. In short, the Night parted them, but in truth with other Success than what the *Carthaginian* expected when he engag'd : And the next
Day

Day *Æmilius*, who approv'd not the Resolution of coming then to a Battel, and saw he could not now retreat from the Ground where he was, without great Hazard, intrench'd himself near the River *Aufidus*, with about two third parts of the Army. This River only, of all the rest in *Italy*, takes its course through the *Apennines*, for all the other *Italian* Rivers are dispers'd, some emptying themselves into the Sea of *Tuscany*, others toward the *Adriatick* Sea; but the *Aufidus*, which crosseth the *Apennines*, hath its source in that part of *Italy* that borders on the *Tuscan-Sea*, and runs into the *Adriatick*. *Æmilius* then posted the rest of his Army on the other side the River, toward that part that is Fordable, somewhat more than a Miles distance from his other Camp, and a further space from the Enemies; in this place he order'd them to intrench, to the end he might be the better able to succour and sustain his Foragers that went from either Camp, and to attack with more ease the Enemies, whensoever they ventur'd abroad on the same Errand.

And now *Hannibal*, perceiving the time of Battel to approach, and fearing lest his ill Success in the last Ingagement, should have blunted the Mettle of his Soldiers, thought it therefore advisable to speak to the Army, and thereupon Orders them to be drawn together to that purpose; and when they were assembled, he bid them behold and survey the

Country round about, and then demanded, what they could wish more, if the Gods themselves had left them at liberty to chuse a place to fight in, than that wherein they now stood, surpassing (as they did) the Enemy so much in Horse? *We ought first then (says he) to acknowledge it a Blessing from Heaven, that in order to Victory hath conducted the Enemy hither. In the next place, you are to allow me a share of your Thanks, by whose management they are at length driven to a necessity of giving us Battel; for they cannot chuse now but fight, in a place which of all others they would refuse, were it left to their choice. In short, I see no necessity to entertain you with many Words to animate you to go on chearfully. I might perhaps speak to you on that Subject, and labour to incite you to do Gallantly were you now to learn what the Romans can do, for then indeed it might concern us to endeavour, both by Words and Examples to inspire you with Thoughts worthy of you; but at this time of Day, after we have thrice vanquish'd them in three successive pitch'd Battels, what Speech, or what Eloquence can so well perswade you, as the Success of your own Actions? By the Battels you have already won, you have subdu'd the Country, and by that means reap'd the Harvest of plenty of every good and needful thing, and my Promise to you therein made good; and the Effects have prov'd, that I meant what I said. It now only remains, that*

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we make our selves Masters of their Cities and Towns, and the Riches and Treasure they contain: If we compass that, Italy it self is ours. This single Battel will finish all our Labours; and by giving us the Empire, and all that the Romans call theirs, we become Masters and Lords of the Universe. There is no need then of Language but of Hearts and Hands, and I trust, by the Favour of the Gods, you will soon see the happy accomplishment of all I have promis'd you,

After *Hannibal* had thus spoken, and the Army had given evidence both by their Voice and their Actions, that they approv'd what he had said, he remanded them to their Posts; having first prais'd their Forwardness, and the Resolution they had manifested, and presently march'd and encamp'd on the other side the River, where the gro'ss of the *Roman* Army lay. The next Day, after having order'd the Army to take their repast, he bid them prepare for Action; and, the Day following, drawing up his Troops along the River, he presented Battel to the *Romans*. But *Æmilius* not liking the Ground, and believing that want of Provision would soon constrain *Hannibal* to decamp, he therefore mov'd not, but took care only to have the two Camps well fortify'd; Whereupon *Hannibal* march'd back to his own, after having stood a while drawn up in Battalia in expectation of the Enemy.

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After this he sent out his *Numidians* to molest those of the lesser Camp as they came to their watering place; but *Terentius* not in-during they should thus dare him so near his Works, and hinder his Soldiers from supplying their Necessities, became the more provok'd by such Bravado's to come to blows, nor were the Soldiers less impatient; so true it is, that no time seems so tedious, as the space between Resolving and Executing, when once we have determin'd to abide the Dangers and Difficulties that lie in the way to our Purposes.

When the News came to *Rome* that the Armies drew near each other, and that they were daily Pickeering and Ingaging by Parties, the People were every where in great fear and suspense, and the memory of so many late Defeats terrify'd them with the apprehension of the issue of the approaching Battel; it being easie to foresee the deplorable state of the Republick in case of a Defeat. Nothing was talk'd of in *Rome* but menaces out of their *Sibyl's* Books, and scarce any thing was seen in Temples and Houses, but Spectres and ill-boding Prodigies, so that all their time was spent in Vows, Sacrifices and Supplications. For 'tis a Custom among the *Romans*, in any Extremities or Streights in their Affairs, to omit nothing that they conceive may be of use to avert the Anger or Danger that threatens them either from the Gods or Men; and,
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in a word, there is nothing on such occasions done or said among them, that is held either Superstitious or unbecoming the Dignity of the Government.

The Day being now come when *Terentius* had the Authority, he took the *Fasces*, and the Sun was hardly risen, when he order'd the Army to move out of their Camps, ranging those in the greater Camp in order of Battel as they march'd out; those of the lesser Camp he drew up in a long Line, joining them at the extremity with the others, possessing all that side of the Ground that look'd toward the South. In the Right-Wing he posted the *Roman* Horse, filling with them the space between the rest and the River. The Foot he dispos'd in the same manner, but in closer Order in the Rear than in the Front, in regard the number of the *Cohorts* was doubled. On the left Wing was plac'd the Horse of the Confederates, the light-arm'd Troops were advanc'd some distance before the Line of Battel; the whole *Roman* Army (taking in the Troops of the Allies) consisting of fourscore Thousand Foot, and six Thousand Horse.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* order'd the *Baleares* and light-arm'd Troops to pass the River, posting them advanc'd before the Ensigns. Then commanding the Gross of the Army to march, he pass'd the River likewise in two places, and rang'd them in order of
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Battel fronting the Enemy. On the left point, being the part nearest the River, he posted his *Spanish* and *Gaulish* Horse, opposed to that of the *Romans*; next these he plac'd the one half of his *African* Foot, who bare weighty Armour, their Flank being likewise secur'd by the rest of the *Africans*. His *Numidian* Horse he posted on the Right Wing; and after having thus form'd his Line of Battel, drawn out in length, and of equal depth, he made the Centre, or middle Battalions, which was compos'd of *Spanish* and *Gaulish* Legionaries, to move a little forward, in such manner as that the Figure, when they had so done, with the two Wings, might be liken'd to a Yoak, Crescent-wise or convex'd in the mid'st; for having propos'd that the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* should first engage, the *Africans* were posted at hand so as to fortifie and sustain them.

His *Africans* were arm'd after the *Roman* manner, being well furnish'd for that Service out of the Spoils of the Enemy in former Battels. The *Spanish* and *Gaulish* Bucklers were of one sort, but their Swords were not alike. The *Spaniards* wear Swords short, stiff, and pointed, fit both for cutting and thrusting; but the *Gauls* were only for cutting-strokes. In a word, it was a surprising Sight to behold them; for the *Gauls* were stripp'd naked from the Waste upward; and the *Spaniards* clad in white Linen-Cassocks, border'd with Purple,
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after the fashion of their Country. In *Hannibal's* Army there were ten Thousand Horse; but the Foot, taking in the Auxiliaries and all, did not exceed forty Thousand. In the *Roman* Battel, *Æmilius* was posted in the Right, *Terentius* in the Left, and the last Year's Consuls, *Marcus Attilius* and *Cn. Servilius* led the Body. On the part of the *Carthaginians*, *Asdrubal* was posted on the Right Wing, *Hanno* on the Left, and *Hannibal* led the Body, accompany'd by his Brother *Mago*. The *Roman* Army fac'd toward the South, and the *Carthaginians* consequently towards the North; so that the rising Sun molested neither.

The Forlorn, or advanc'd Parties began the Day, and these light-arm'd Troops contended for a while with equal Courage and Success; but as soon as the *Spanish* and *Gaulish* Horse on the Left Wing advanc'd against the *Romans*, the Battel grew hot and bloody: For they fought not now, as had been the custom in other Battels, by charging and wheeling off, and then returning to the Charge: But here, when once they came to join, the Horse-men mingling, and often disengaging from their Horses, fought it out Man to Man on Foot. But the *Carthaginian* Horse in the end prevail'd, killing the greatest part of the *Romans* on the place, tho' their Behaviour was without blame. Those who endeavour'd to escape, took along the River, but
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were most of them cut off, *Asdrubal* giving no Quarter. And now the Cohorts taking place of the light-arm'd Troops, it was there likewise hotly disputed for a space; but the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, who did not presently lose their Order, were at length broken, and forc'd to give ground to the superior number of the *Romans*; and retreating back, the Crescent, or convex Part of the Figure, which was form'd by this Body of Men, and who first engag'd, sunk back into the void space in the Rear. The *Roman* Cohorts eagerly pursuing the advantage, easily pierc'd the Body of the Enemy's Battel, which was but weak, and compos'd only of *Gauls*, to the place where the Battalions stood in close order, that had been drawn thither for that purpose, during the Fight from the Right and Left Wings, where all the Danger was. In short, the *Romans* thus pressing the Enemy, who open'd to the Right and Left to give them passage, advanc'd so far into the void space, that they had now the *African* Foot, who bare weighty Armour on their Flank both ways; who moving from the Right and Left Wings inwards, charg'd the *Romans* on both their Flanks at once, each acting as the present occasion advis'd.

In short, every thing came to pass as *Hannibal* had skilfully devis'd; for the *Romans* pursuing the *Gauls*, whom he well knew were not their match, became at length encom-
pass'd

pass'd by the *Africans*: By which means they were so enclos'd, that they were not able to fight in a Body, but, as it were, Man to Man, or by small Parties against strong Bodies that press'd them from all Parts. And now forasmuch as *Æmilius*, who was posted in the Right Wing, and had his share in the Conflict with *Asdrubal* and the Horse; yet being hitherto unhurt, and willing to equal his Actions with his Words, by which he had encourag'd the Army, seeing that all the Hopes they had left was in their Foot, he charg'd through the Enemy's Battel, killing and forcing all that stood in his way, where he did his utmost to encourage his People; *Hannibal* acting the same Part in the same Post, having from the beginning conducted that part of his Army in Person.

As to the *Numidians*, who fought in the Right Wing against *Varro*, and the Horse that were posted in the Left Wing of the *Romans*, neither they nor the others acted any thing memorable on that side, saving that the *Numidians* so amus'd the *Romans*, by beating about them, now offering to charge in one place, now in another, that they were thereby prevented from succouring those that were elsewhere distress'd. But now that *Asdrubal* had compleated his Victory, and destroy'd the greatest part of the Horse whom he had follow'd along the River, and was return'd to re-enforce the *Numidians*; then the Horse of
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the *Roman* Allies beholding their Danger, turn'd their backs. 'Tis said that *Asdrubal* in this occasion perform'd an artful and prudent part; who well knowing that the *Numidians* were singular at the pursuit of a flying Enemy, he therefore order'd them to follow hard after the running *Romans*, while he, heading a Body of Foot, advanc'd to re-enforce the *Africans*; and coming in, fell on the Rear of the *Romans* Battel, and charg'd them likewise elsewhere with certain Squadrons of Horse, which greatly hearten'd the *Africans*, and as much terrify'd the *Romans*. *L. Æmilius*, having receiv'd many Wounds, dy'd in the Battel, after he had liv'd to act in every thing the part of an able and vertuous Citizen, and especially in this occasion. The *Romans* resisted yet a while; but as their Men fell, their Ground by degrees became more and more streightned, till at length they were so huddled up, that they had not space to move and wield their Arms; so they were all put to the Sword. The two Consuls of the preceding Year likewise fell in this occasion, Men of great Reputation for their Wisdom and Probity, and who in this Action gave noble Proofs of the power and extent of *Roman* Vertue. While matters pass'd thus here, the *Numidians*, who went in pursuit of the *Roman* Horse, kill'd the greatest part of them, and took some Prisoners. A few got into *Venusia*, and among these the Consul *Terentius Varro*, a Person every way un-

unworthy, and who was chosen into the Magistracy for a Curse to his Country.

This issue had the Field of *Cannæ*, famous for the number of illustrious Men there present on both sides, as well on the part of the Vanquish'd, as the Victors. And certainly the Action it self witnesseth its own Greatness; for of six Thousand *Roman* Horse, there escap'd no more than Seventy, who got with the Consul into *Venusia*; and about three Hundred of the Allies, some by one means, some by another. As to the Foot, ten Thousand were made Prisoners, who were not in the Action: Of the rest, not above three Thousand escap'd, all the rest dying bravely with their Swords in their Hands, to the number of Seventy Thousand. In a word, the great advantage the Enemy had in Horse, mainly contributed to their Success; and profitable Instruction may be gather'd by remarking from hence, That it is more safe to Fight with one half the number of Foot less, while you exceed the Enemy in Horse, than to have both sides equal in Foot and Horse in a Battel. But this Victory came not cheap to the *Carthaginians*; for there dy'd in Battel on their part, four Thousand *Gauls*, fifteen Hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two Hundred of their Horse.

The *Romans* who were taken Prisoners were not in the Battel, for *Æmilius* had left them in the Camp with Orders to march and attack

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that of the Enemy after the Battel should begin, thereby to become Masters of their Stores and Ammunition, in case *Hannibal* should chance to leave his Camp without a good Guard, and in case he did, he was sure to find his Army thereby diminish'd, and the *Romans* with less business on their hands. These then were taken much after this manner. Tho' *Hannibal* left not his Camp without a good Guard, nevertheless, as soon as the Battel began, the *Romans*, pursuant to their Orders, march'd to the Attack; the *Carthaginians* for a while gallantly opposing them, but at length, when they were on the point of yielding to the superiour force of the Enemy, *Hannibal*, who was by that time Master of the Field, came in to their Relief, and routing the *Romans*, forc'd them to take Refuge in their own Camp; of these were kill'd about two Thousand, the rest were taken alive. Such as were scatter'd and dispers'd about the Country, and had got into Fortify'd Places, shar'd no better Fortune, for the *Numidians* attack'd them where-ever they went, taking to the number of two Thousand of their Horse Prisoners, as we before noted. The issue of this Battel prov'd in effect what either Party foresaw; for the *Carthaginians* thereby became soon possess'd, in a manner at least, of all that part of *Italy* call'd the *Ancient Province*, and *Magna-Græcia*. Those of *Tarentum*, the *Arpinates*, and some *Capuans*, putting themselves present-ly

ly into their hands, and all the rest giving manifest signs of their good Inclinations toward them. Nor was *Hannibal* in doubt, but that *Rome* it self would be his on the first Attempt ; while the *Romans* became now desperate (after this Defeat) of preserving their Dominion of *Italy*. And under these Agitations, terrify'd at once at their own and Countries Danger, expected every moment to see *Hannibal* at their Gates. And, as if Fortune had a mind to make them drink the Dregs of this bitter Cup, they receiv'd news shortly after (while the City was sinking under the weight of their Adversity) that their Prætor, whom they had sent to the *Cisalpine Gauls*, was himself with his whole Army routed and cut off, by an Ambush they had laid in his way. Howbeit, the Senate deserted not their Duty in this exigent. They call'd on the Inhabitants to strengthen the Works of the City, and gave all those needful Orders which their Circumstances would permit, as by the success soon appear'd. And tho' in truth the whole World was now witness, that the *Romans* at this time were vanquish'd, and gave place in Military Reputation to their Enemy ; nevertheless, it will also be confess'd, That what by their Constancy of Mind, and the Wisdom of their Counsels, they overcame at length these their Conquerors, and not only rescu'd their Country, but added not long after to their recovery of *Italy*, the Conquest of the World.

Here then we have thought it proper to finish this Book, which contains so many memorable Transactions, as well in *Spain* as *Italy*, during the hundred and fortieth Olympiad. And when we shall have spoken of the Occurrences of *Greece*, during the same Olympiad, we shall then return to *Rome*, and discourse at large on the subject of that Commonwealth; being persuaded that such Remarks as may be thence collected, will not only be found worthy the Pen of an Historian, but of excellent use both to those, who would improve their Minds in such Contemplations, as others who are actually in the Ministry of Publick Affairs; as well for the correcting the Errors of present Governments, as the forming and founding of new Commonwealths.

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